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- ART. I. *Historical Reflections on the Constitution and Representative System of England* with Reference to the popular Propositions for a Reform of Parliament. By James Jopp, Esq. London: J. Hatchard. Oct. 1811.
2. *Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. on the Subject of Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament* By William Roebuck, Esq. Liverpool. 1811
3. *Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq. Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor. On the Subject of Parliamentary Reform.* By the Earl of Selkirk. London: Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter.

IF the constitution of England had been planned and perfected by one extended effort of thought, like an epic poem, if it had been the bold creation of genius accomplished at its very birth, and at once displaying itself to the world as a fair, original, unblemished pattern, to adhere to the model would be the duty of succeeding ages; and the friend of his country could scarcely be more nobly and beneficially engaged than in bringing before so decisive a test the laws and practices of his own time, and in exposing and condemning each aberration from the great exemplar. But history denies the existence, at any time, of such a standing monument of political perfection; and however true it may be, that the first rudiments of what Englishmen call their constitution are to be found in the manners of our primitive ancestors, yet those perfect forms of liberty and law which some have seen, or pretended to see in that part of our history which preceded the conquest, we venture to class among the abstractions of visionary politics; unless some of our readers may think.

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with which opinion we are not much inclined to disagree, that party prejudices and factious designs have helped greatly to promote these interesting discoveries of ancient privileges lost, and imprescriptible rights forgotten.

Now all this antiquarian research into the foundation of our liberties, we cannot help considering as productive of little advantage. What we have, we hold by a title older than antiquity itself; what we have not, are not shewn to be desirable in the present state of things by proofs that they once existed. Present institutions, if they fall short of speculative purity, are easily brought into discredit with the multitude, by being accused of wandering from a fictitious model, assigned by dreaming ignorance to unknown and unrecorded antiquity.

That there was something in the circumstances of our ancestors of the earliest age, which gave the first start to our liberties, which put them into a train of involuntary progression, and imparted to them strength to survive occasional and frequent interruptions, is not meant to be denied. Still less are we disposed to deny the credit which belongs to a succeeding generation for meditated improvements of this original patrimony; though more is undoubtedly due to the operations of events evolving consequences unforeseen, independent of human contrivance, and perhaps contradicting all contemporary speculation. The price at which many of our most valuable rights have been purchased, ought never to be forgotten; but we cannot join in opinion with those who consider the struggles of our forefathers in the support of liberty, as having always in view the maintenance of a settled derivative constitution, and the restoration of definite rights. Those who through the vista of ages discern this integrity of system, called by them the constitution of England, in the composition of the Saxon Wittenagemot, deserve to be complimented as much for their perspicacity, as for their strong political faith. We admire their faculty of tracing objects with accuracy in the dark; but as our own views are confined within ordinary limits, we must found our love of the laws and institutions of our country on a narrower principle, consoled by the reflection that this narrower principle is found in practice to produce as much political integrity and public usefulness, as appears in the conduct of our reformists upon the Saxon model. It is agreeable to history and reason, to look into remote times for the elements of our national character; the research is gratifying to intelligent curiosity; but the spirit of faction must be blended with the superstition of the antiquary, to produce a politician of the nineteenth century wild

enough to search through the loose memorials of an age of comparative barbarity, for the standard of our present policy.

The ancient Germans, and indeed all the northern nations that were instrumental in overturning the old fabric of Roman despotism, brought with them a constitution, if such it could be called, in which the character of the people, as fierce as it was free, was vigorously expressed. The rights of humanity were recognised in the outlines of these military establishments, and the characters of freedom and independence, have never been wholly obliterated in any of the European governments. The real state of the Anglo-Saxon establishments rests in great obscurity; an obscurity greatly increased by the studied misrepresentations of controversy. According to appearances it was subject to frequent vacillation, and varied essentially in the different kingdoms of the heptarchy. That the power of the monarch was subject to great limitations, there is abundance of proof in the events of those times, but that it was limited more by custom than settled law is inferible from its fluctuations and inconsistencies;—on some occasions despotically overbearing, on others obsequious to the will of the aristocracy. A similar mutability is displayed in the condition of every class of the community in those desultory times, which disclose a general view of affairs in which power, but little defined or coerced by positive law, was left to run into the vagrant channels of property and personal ability.

It is probable that circumstances were more favourable to liberty among the Anglo-Saxons than the other invading nations of the north. They appear to have been the rudest and poorest of the Germans; and the advancement of their conquest over the natives was so slow and difficult, that the accumulations of property and individual aggrandizement were somewhat delayed in their progress, and a larger measure of their ancient privileges were preserved to the conquered. Besides which, the smallness of the original allotments in the allodial distribution of lands, would be likely to occasion an earlier combination of petty proprietors into confederacies for mutual protection; and to these rude associations of free men, we trace with probability, the origin of towns, vills, and burghs. These confederacies were, doubtless, in their incipient state, rather martial than civil; and nothing probably was remoter from their first contemplations than the acquisition of the immunities and privileges, to which subsequent events and opportunities opened the way. The division of vills into decennaries, and the formation of those again into larger districts, as hundreds and counties, with their respective courts for the distribution of justice, were alone sufficient to

prevent the sense of freedom from being lost in the inequalities of condition. The date of the origin of juries has never been fixed with any certainty, but as the method of deciding causes by a plurality of voices would soon be found extremely inconvenient, it is not improbable that the adoption of a select number for the dispatch of justice, was an innovation of very remote antiquity.

Thus in a very early period of our history, there are undoubted vestiges of political liberty. It is abundantly proved by the bare existence of these political arrangements upon so popular and equitable a plan. As the freeholders were fined for non-attendance at these courts, and as a variety of civil transactions both of a public and private nature were there attested, ratified, and promulged, the attendance would naturally be great, and the fermentation of mind with mind the inevitable consequence. The constitution of these assemblies, therefore, it must be owned, were well adapted to mitigate the ferocities of the times, and to cherish the seeds of liberty; nor could a people, capable of comprehending the value of such privileges, and of struggling for their preservation, be said to be in a condition of political degradation. The question respecting the powers and constitution of the Wittenagemot has been incessantly agitated, not as a mere question of curiosity, as it really ought, but as a point materially affecting our title to the constitution we enjoy, and as the standard to which it is to be recalled from its deviations. The controversy was at its height soon after the accession of the Stuarts. Monarchical zealots were anxious to prove that this council was a vassal appendage to the crown, summoned only for advice, or taxation, with a nominal independence, but in truth and fact under the king's immediate influence and controul. The favourers of popular ascendancy have gone into as wide an extreme. They have ascribed to it the supreme direction of affairs, and clothed it with the character of a pure representative body; the organ at once of the nobility, the priesthood, the yeomanry, the merchants, and the manufacturers. These propositions equally violent, and probably at equal distances from the truth, have been respectively supported with more zeal than knowledge. Each party has endeavoured to establish its point by a garbled selection of incidents, affording, as is commonly the case in unsettled times, contradictory inferences; and by straining the interpretation of vague and general terms used by ancient writers, who, not anticipating these disputes, were little circumspect in their language; while both have overlooked the plain conclusions from those undisputed facts, which hold up to view the actual situation of the country.

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That none had seats in this assembly, at least during the greater part of the time of its continuance, but persons having a free property in land of a certain extent, is pretty plainly indicated by the testimonies which have come down to us; and this supposition agrees with the general descriptive appellation given to the constituent members, who are usually designated as the bishops and abbots, together with the aldermen, chiefs, and nobles,—terms unadapted to any but the persons then called the Greater Franks, or landed proprietors with full allodial property. This, at least for a great length of time, may be most rationally supposed to have been the case; and as in the early times of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, these allodial proprietors of land were probably very numerous, it may be inferred, that the constitution of Wittenagemot admitted a pretty considerable portion of the people; though it cannot be supposed that the less wealthy members, in times when possessions gave so much rank and importance, could have enjoyed any great political weight in a council so composed. It is yet more improbable that the manufacturing and trading part of the community formed any part of it. Before this can be rationally supposed, we must imagine them assembled in towns, and invested with corporate capacity, and collective privileges.

It must be admitted that mention is made (though by writers posterior to the conquest) of the *people*, as being part of this general council. But when the latitude and ambiguity of this term, as politically applied, is recollected, it will appear absurd to lay much stress upon it. If it is to be taken in the vulgar sense, it must include the whole body of the nation, unless we assume the fact of a representative system, which no where appears in terms, and which is opposed by every fair inference from analogy, when the state of the country is properly taken into view. Who can suppose that when Canute, in the fifth year of his reign, is said to have held a great council of his archbishops, dukes, earls, and abbots, "*cum quamplurimis gregariis militibus, ac cum populi multitudine copiosa*," that the persons comprehended under the latter part of this description, were admitted to any share in the deliberations or resolves of this great national assembly, or were present at it in any other character than that of mere spectators. In frequent instances we find the word *people* used as a correlative to the clerical order, as in a record of a Wittenagemot, held in the time of King Ethelbert, where the words are "*convocato igitur communi concilio tam cleri quam populi*," a circumstance indicating in a striking manner, the numbers and importance of the ecclesiastics in that day. To extend the term "*wites*," or "*wise men*," to the common people, at a time

when commerce and the arts had scarcely begun their progress, is an expansion of courtesy which we candidly confess we do not feel, and to which we are so uncharitable as to think that neither truth nor probity can condescend. That the real importance and efficiency of the Saxon Wittenagemot, during the greater part of this period of our history, was considerable, is a point universally admitted. Hume holds it to be quite clear, that its sanction was material in the enactment of laws, and for ratifying the public acts of administration. Other authors of weight and research, have considered the power of making peace and war as an indisputable part of its great office; from which it seems to result, in the opinion of the author of the historical view of the English government, that the members were all allodial proprietors of land; since, if they had been vassals of the crown, they would have been bound by their tenures to have attended the king in his wars, and consequently that their consent could not have been requisite to any military undertaking.

As the kingly office was ill defined, and varying in its pretensions and practice, according to the varying postures of the kingdom, something of a similar vacillation is, with reason, attributable to the other departments and classes of the political system. Without doubt, the competence of this council was varied in extent in the different states of the heptarchy, and after the consolidation of the empire under a single potentate, was continued down to the era of the conquest, declining in authority in proportion as the accumulations of property created an aristocracy above the controul of the law.

Upon the whole, although the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Edward the Confessor and even of Canute himself, carry undoubted evidence of a limited and legal government; yet even in the best times of this obscure period, the science of legislation seems to have been so rude and undigested, so ineffectual a rampart was raised against civil disturbances, and private wrongs; and there prevailed so many tyrannical distinctions destructive of that natural equality which must be the acknowledged basis of every legitimate system of polity, that when the firm and temperate government under which we live, is traduced by a lying comparison with a state of things so far behind us in whatever appertains to the felicity of man, or the perfection of his nature, honesty, gratitude, and common sense, are all equally outraged.

According to the very sensible author of the "*Historical Reflections*," whose work stands first at the head of this article,

and whom we have much pleasure in introducing to our readers, as a very candid, rational, and accurate writer on the subject he has undertaken to elucidate, "whatever might be the political arrangement of society previous to the conquest, it was then established on a foundation in a great measure new." It was then that the feudal system, to which the state of the country had been fast tending for some time before this event, was thoroughly established; accompanied by that technical distribution of society, and peculiar cast of sentiments and manners, which have produced so extraordinary a revolution in the character and circumstances of mankind. Very little can now be known of the details of government in the first ages of this new era. The class of historians to which we are driven for information, is above all others dry, deficient, and obscure. There was little, indeed, to encourage or reward their efforts. The minds of men were bent towards objects foreign to political speculations: martial enterprises, reciprocal dues and claims of service and protection, the decision of private quarrels by the arbitration of the sword, the discharge of superstitious obligations, and the struggles between civil and ecclesiastical authority, engrossed the time and thoughts of men so entirely, as, for a long time, to hide from their contemplation, and even from their curiosity, the genuine forms of liberty and protecting justice.

The want of all historical exposition of the maxims of government, and the methods of legislation, in the times to which we are now alluding, is, however, somewhat supplied by the knowledge we are furnished with of events and practices which afford indubitable inferences of the weakness of the laws, and the unsettled limitations of power: and upon the whole, one thing is most clear,—that if a representative system of legislation had really existed in the times preceding the reign of Henry the Third, so marked a feature would have left no necessity for proving its existence by conjectures founded upon dubious expressions, and bits and scraps of testimony threaded inconsequentially together, with a contemptuous disregard of their true bearings, and the general tone of the context. Mr. Jopp very pertinently urges upon the modern sectaries of reform, who refer us to these early periods for the true model of our free constitution, the propriety, in the absence of all direct evidence, of shewing the fitness of the people for their supposed representative privileges, and that their habits and political condition was such as to back the hypothesis with some probable inferences from collateral facts. These facts are, however, so wanting to the argument, that the very sensible and well-informed writer of the "*Observations on the ancient Statutes*"

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was induced to remark, that "no one who reads the old historians and chronicles will discern any strong allusion or trace of it (i. e. the interference of the commons in the legislation), if he does not sit down to the perusal with an *intention* of proving that they formed a component part of it." The last mentioned author, indeed, in the face of all Mr. Tyrrel's learning, to which he had just been referring his readers for the display of the arguments on both sides of the controversy, considers the question as reduced to little more than a point of mere speculation for the discussion of the antiquary.

It is rather amusing after these considerations, to turn to the volume of Lord Lyttleton, where we find him, much at his ease, talking of "the presence of the people in the great council of the Saxons, and from thence continued after the conquest, in parliament, nearly as now understood, down to the present time." What is apt to perplex enquiry, and confound the judgment, in investigating the political condition of the people, during the period which intervened between the reign of the conqueror and that of Henry the Third, is the incongruous mixture of boldness and submission, of arbitrary encroachment and sudden relinquishment, which characterize the events of those times, both in relation to the prince and the people. The feudal system is very remarkable for these contrary tendencies. Its genius at once proud and obedient, combined loyal service with martial independence, freedom with fidelity, and the principle of honour with the spirit of disorder. So that the speculative politician, to whatever side he inclines, may select abundant instances from those times to prove his favourite theory. The error, or the imposition, consists in assuming insulated facts, or extraordinary crises, as the ordinary condition and constant attitude of the country, neglecting that underworking process which alters by degrees the constitution of society, and silently develops a new arrangement of property and power. For it is worthy of remark, and the fact involves a curious problem in politics, that while this nation has appeared to be going on in a rapid course towards arbitrary power, and the will of the prince has threatened to be triumphant over law, liberty has been secretly accumulating strength; not unlike, if on such a subject a simile may be allowed us, those contrary currents of air, which in a direction seemingly opposed to the wind, conduct in solemn stillness the majestic march of the thunder-storm.

Before the invasion of William the First, the civil state of this country appeared to be tending towards the feudal constitution. It was the immediate operation of that event to establish it in its full perfection. Of all complex and unna-

tural schemes of government it was best adapted for duration. Too aristocritical to be consistent with pure despotism, it was still well calculated to uphold arbitrary domination. But it had its weak and fallible parts. The machinery was nicely framed, but without sufficient allowance for wear and tear. It was held together with too much tension, being so rigidly constructed as to be sooner broken than bent. The truth is, that whatever opposes itself to the natural order of things, must of necessity be unsafe. Two things were required to be stationary to secure the permanence of that system—property and mind; which by the appointed order of things are flux and mutable. Where human beings are in a moral state, that is, so circumstanced as to be capable of evolving and improving their faculties, their appetites are sure to lead them on in a career of advancement. The exercise of one faculty develops another, discoveries are stimulated by wants, and wants are created by discoveries, the individual draws from the collective competence, society becomes a great partnership, enjoyment is multiplied into itself, and increased to each by being shared by all; social intercourse and the temptations of commerce, at length burst the barriers to the diffusion of property; its great masses are broken down, and its real value is found to consist in the facility and freedom of its transmutation and conversion. The mind keeps pace with this progress in the use and application of wealth, extends its views, contemplates its dignity, and demands its rights. This blessed tendency in human affairs was the slow and silent subverter of the feudal constitution. A multitude of accidental particulars in the circumstances of this country helped forward this tendency here, and ripened it into operation. And to these peculiar advantages we owe, under Providence, that clear and ultimate demonstration of tempered liberty, which belongs to our present condition.

Under the auspices of the feudal system, and the dazzling conjuncture of his affairs, William the First established an arbitrary if not an unlimited monarchy. But his power was derived at least as much out of his princely domains, as his sovereign prerogatives. His will was nearly a law, while his possessions maintained him in independence upon his people. In the territorial division of the kingdom, the demesnes reserved to the crown consisted of 1422 manors and lordships, besides detached possessions, and some share of the four northern counties. The crown also originally possessed all the towns and ports, though these were occasionally granted out to different barons. It enjoyed the profits of wardships, marriages of heirs, reliefs, and fines, which last were very numerous, and many of

which, especially those for offences, were unfixed and discretionary. There were besides a vast list of tolls and customs for passage, postage, markets, protections, besides duties on merchandize, and on permits to quit or enter the different ports. To these may be added the great revenues from estreated estates, and ecclesiastical benefices. Mr. Hume considered the conqueror's revenue to have been ten millions annually. Mr. Carte carries it to eleven millions. Other writers have differed very much from this computation. It seems indeed very difficult, if not impossible, to come to a conclusive estimate, by adjusting the comparative values of the ancient and modern denominations; but enough is ascertainable to manifest the enormous revenues of the crown in those days, and to shew its sufficiency for all its exigencies. The necessity for preserving whole these two great constituents of power, was either not understood by, or neglected in the ambitious ardour of, the succeeding monarchs. Their prodigality, enthusiasm, and lust of power, all encouraged by their continental connections and possessions, increased the expences of the crown even beyond its vast resources. The fund of ambition decreased in a ratio inverse to the extension of its objects. While the sovereigns appeared to themselves to be enlarging their power, they were really employed in providing for its permanent limitation. Prerogative and financial independence were together an overmatch for liberty and law; but when prerogative was left to its substantive vigour, and the ambition of the monarch was to be fed by the bounty of the nation, reciprocity, and the basis of compromise, were established between the king and the people: and though the career of government went on for some time with a sort of habitual impulse, or, if we may so say, with its acquired velocity, at length perpetual efforts became necessary to supply its decays of strength, and every effort brought with it an accession of debility. This was pretty nearly the posture of things when the Stuarts succeeded to the crown, and the sharp struggle between the habitual claims of prerogative deprived of its real strength, and the wealth and grandeur of the commons produced by the commercial prosperity of the nation, ended in the dire catastrophe of the king's execution, and the temporary dissolution of the monarchy.

The above is a very rapid sketch of a very slow revolution in the early history of our constitution; for such was the strength and solidity of that mass of power which the first William had heaped together, such was the productiveness of the fund which he had provided for the support of his feudal sovereignty, and so cheap a military apparatus was supplied to him out of the system of tenures which he had brought with him, that had it not

been for foreign wars, to which the feudal military establishment was ill adapted (the obligatory service being only for forty days), it scarcely seems possible for the crown, without considerable mismanagement, to have fallen into a state of pecuniary dependence. It was long, therefore, before it felt itself in this new situation; very long before it felt itself under the necessity of drawing the supplies for its ordinary expenditure from regular and constant impositions on the people. With this massive and momentous power, the monarchy in the hands of the first feudal sovereigns was hardly susceptible of limitation or definition. It is not surprising therefore, that, as the very discerning and manly writer of the "*Historical Reflections*" has observed, during the space of time from the conquest to the accession of Edward the First, there is no appearance of the existence of any representative system in such assemblies as were convened. There seems, indeed, according to the clearest evidence produced by this writer, to be the best reason for doubting the exercise of any independent deliberative power, even by the barons and great men, of which the grand councils of the nation were then composed.

The three great national alterations made in the reign of the conqueror, viz. the subjecting of the lands of the clergy to military tenures, the forest laws, and the separating of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions anciently exercised by the county courts, were, as Mr. Jopp observes, pointed acts of legislation, effecting important changes; yet in none of them does there appear any trace of deliberate legislative sanction in a general national assembly. He admits, "that some of these momentous regulations were promulgated at the councils of the state festivals," but he contends, with the clearest reason, that "there is no evidence of the concurrence of a council having been obtained, or even of the matter having been transacted there, otherwise than as it was announced as an edict of the king."

The context of the famous charter of William the First, for the disjunction of the old jurisdictions of the county courts, imply nothing beyond the mandate of the prince, depending on his own authority, accompanied with the advice of his council. The words of the charter, as far as they are connected with any references to authority, advice, or consent, are as follow: "*W. Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum, sciatis vos omnes et cæteri fideles mei, qui in Anglia manent, quod Episcopales leges, quæ non bene, nec secundum sanctorum canonum præcepta, usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerint, communi concilio, et concilio Archiepiscoporum, et Epis-*

coporum, et Abbatum, et omnium principum regni mei, emendandas judicavi; propterea mando, et regia auctoritate præcipio, ut nullus Episcopus de Hoc etiam defendo, et mea auctoritate interdico ne nullus Vicecomes," &c.

The reign of Henry the First was arbitrary and cruel. The nation was mocked with a charter, which is only important as being in some measure the model of the great charter. It emanated from the sole undisputed authority of the prince, and as Mr. Hume says, was "unfit to be the deed of any one who possessed not the whole legislative power, and who might not at pleasure revoke all his concessions." In this and some of the succeeding reigns, the regulations respecting the church and its rights were discussed in the national councils, of which the ecclesiastical dignitaries became a component and very prevailing part after they became subject to military service, but no account exists of any legislative measures or debates in these councils on the subjects of taxation, or any civil concerns.

No material change as to legislative authority took place during the reign of Henry the Second. As Mr. Jopp observes, "in the celebrated assembly at Clarendon, we see more distinctly than before, the power which the king possessed either of putting his will into the practical form of a law, or in altering that law as it suited his purpose, by his own sole authority." This reign abounds in instances of the exercise of the power of legislation by the prince, without the surmise of any sanction, or concurrence of a national council.

In the short reigns of Richard the First, and John, the government was carried on by the same arbitrary measures,—many of them cruel and oppressive to the greatest degree. In respect to the great charter itself it may safely be observed, that it contained no express provision for an improved system of legislation. And after all the applause which has been bestowed upon it by the multitudes who are ignorant of its contents, sound sense finds but little in it that secured the liberty or improved the actual condition of the people, and recognises its most beneficial results in the spirit it diffused, and the example it afforded. It was a precedent for limiting the prerogative; and though Mr. Jopp may be right in saying, that it was not difficult to make oppressive laws without infringing any of the *articles* of this charter, yet it must be acknowledged that its *spirit* was intended, and has really operated, as a guide to the policy of legislation and practice of government in succeeding times. The words of the charter denouncing injustice, favour, or any coercion unsanctioned by law, are general without being vague, and have put upon record the privilege of an Englishman whatever

may be his condition, to live secure under the shade of the law, and, beside the law, to fear no other authority but that of God and his conscience. As it was deficient in all specific regulations for enacting laws, we cannot deduce from it any positive improvements in the system of government, arising out of its immediate operation. It stood like a standard measure for others to be modelled from, but was ill contrived itself for ordinary application and use; and how little its particular provisions were attended to we have evidence more than enough.

In the reign of Henry the Third, according to some, but as others, and perhaps with greater reason, contend, in that of his son Edward the First, the form of a representative house of commons first disclosed itself; an event for which the changes in society had been gradually preparing it. Upon the accession of William the First, the great council called the Wittenagemot, had expired. All the independent proprietors had been then converted into feudal vassals, in various degrees of ascent to the king, in whom the great paramount superior, the property of the whole kingdom ultimately resided. The great court-baron of the king as the paramount superior, which took the appellation of parliament from its French original, with privileges very different from those now implied in that name, naturally assumed a jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, but its early constitution in a legislative view, was, as has been observed, very much restricted. It may indeed be reasonably doubted whether, through several reigns, it attained to any higher consideration than that of nominally advising the king, and authenticating his decrees. It is put beyond doubt that this feudal parliament was composed of the immediate vassals of the crown and the dignified clergy, and as these vassals were possessed of territorial property of a vast extent, their number could not, for some time, be very great. Possessing such power, they would naturally be disposed to turbulence, in a state of society little calculated to harmonize and subdue the passions: instances of boisterous independence would never be wanting among an order of men, rich, unlettered, licentious, and inflated with the barbarous privileges of their nobility. So circumstanced, and with this disposition, nothing seems so much attended to by them, and so carefully adjusted, as the rights and obligations of their feudal possessions. The great maxims of steady government, and the permanent security of freedom, seemed very little to interest either the high or the low. The people, indeed, whose immediate grievances arose from the oppressions of their feudal superiors, counted their advances in political freedom by the alleviations they, by slow degrees, ob-

tuined, of the burthensome duties of their tenures. Meanwhile from behind this unpromising exterior, a more cheerful order of things was slowly coming on, and a careful observer may discern in the very abuses of power, the first developement of a better system.

As the crown became impoverished by military undertakings abroad, or profusion at home, it was gradually reduced to the condition of a suitor to the people; and, in some measure became a dependent upon their bounty. From these necessities arose a series of charters, which, though frequently broken and neglected, were nevertheless the groundwork of greater acquisitions, and raised at length the minds of the people to the firm contemplation of their legitimate rights, and the proper means of securing them. Some of our princes, indeed, whose titles were dubious, may be said to have purchased their kingdoms by their charters. While in France the succession was uninterrupted from father to son for a period of three hundred years; in England during the same period there were five deviations from the lineal course of descent; and it is well known that disputed successions are fruitful in arrangements of conciliation and compromise.

During the reign of Henry III. the number of the crown vassals, or tenants in capite, had, from various causes, greatly increased. Among these causes, forfeitures and regrants, the consequences of civil contentions, were principally operative. The policy of the crown, more afraid of the refractory opulence of the nobility, than of the growing importance of the people, was glad of every opportunity of breaking down the great baronies, by splitting the tenures, whereby they obviously multiplied the number of the persons entitled to seats in the national council. It is well known how much the diffusion of property was promoted by the expeditions to the Holy Land. Commerce in the mean time had begun to expand itself, and to strike against the barriers which restrained the alienation of land. These barriers were in part opened by the great statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 Edward I., which by permitting the sale of lands, while it forbade the creation of new and subordinate feuds, opened the condition of society, and gave vent to overgrown estates. And it is no improbable supposition that the multiplication of the tenants in capite gave birth to the representative system. The smaller barons would doubtless find their attendance in the council burthensome, while their inferior weight and importance was mortifying to their pride. The expedient, therefore, of appointing one out of a number to represent the rest at the common expence, would naturally suggest itself; and this seems to have been the real origin of

delegation of knights of shires. The grandeur of the county courts seems to have declined with the multiplication of the tenants in capite. When a number of inferior barons came to attend these courts, the great lords would naturally be less inclined to give their personal attendance. This secession would tend to raise this inferior order to greater consequence in their counties, and to lay a foundation for further innovation: till in the time of Henry IV. the new attendants at these courts, and at length those landholders who did not stand in the relation of vassals to the crown, were probably admitted to vote for the knights of shires.

This power was carried still further down by the same prince, (whose defective title made him very complaisant to the people,) by whom it was caused to be enacted, that *all who should be present at the county court next after the delivery of the writ to the sheriff* should be entitled to vote. And the disorders consequent upon this extension of the privilege, induced the commons to make their complaint, under Henry VI., which produced the famous act of the eighth year of that prince, for fixing the qualification of the electors. To a similar source we may trace the representation of those towns, which had at an earlier period been invested with immunities and privileges by those royal patrons, within whose demesnes they were situated. Many of them were probably raised by their charter of incorporation to the rank of crown vassals, and as such, in consonance with the feudal establishment, intitled to a place in the council of the nation. In the great charter they are expressly mentioned, and provision is there made for exempting them from taxation unless by their own consent. In those that were incorporated, the deputies were chosen by the corporations: while the suitors in the king's courts or those of the lords, and who were the better class, were in all probability the only electors in the ancient boroughs, or towns of ancient demesne.

The exact time of the admission of burgesses into parliament, and of the subsequent union of the knights and burgesses in one assembly, distinct from that of the great barons, cannot be fixed with any precision. It is equally unknown at what precise time the vassals of the subject-superior, or as they are sometimes called the rear vassals, were embraced within the expansion of the privilege of sitting by their representatives in the national council. That they originally had no seats in parliament is clear. This was the privilege of the tenants of the king alone, while the vassals of the subject were bound to an attendance in the court of their immediate feudal superior. Happily, as a system of greater equality advanced, these rigorous distinctions were softened, and at length melted down, till in about the mid-

dle of the reign of Edward the Third the representative model which had begun near a century before, was firmly established, and in a manner identified with the constitution of England. From the earliest records, therefore, to the period of our history last alluded to, there certainly existed no such perfect system as corresponds with the visions of our modern reformers: But we do not stop here.

If the true state of the nation be regarded as it is really portrayed by the transactions of succeeding reigns, the references now made to former enviable predicaments of our constitution will be perceived to be of the same family of sottish ignorance, and declamatory bombast. It is apparent that long after the parliament was placed upon the representative footing, it was seldom summoned for any higher purpose than that of granting aids to the prince. It appears, indeed, that long after the first attendance of the burgesses in parliament, they were very irregularly summoned, and sometimes altogether omitted, and *that*, even for some time after they became a constituent part of the council.

The changeable form of representation during the reign of Edward the First is very perspicuously and accurately shown by Mr. Jopp, whose correct catalogue and spirited delineations of the successive parliaments, from the beginning of this reign to the revolution, prove to demonstration the gradual and progressive perfection of the present system of our liberties, and that the notion of any certain point of time, to which we may recur as exhibiting a practical model of constitutional purity, as it exists in the brains of reformers, is either a fond imagination, or a fraudulent pretence.

After a series of happy conjunctures had invested the commons with the *power*, they acknowledged themselves incapable of the *task* of legislation. It does not seem that they felt the importance of extending instruction to the lower orders, in a view to the security of the liberties of the subject. In the 15th Ric. 2. they petitioned that no villain of any bishop, or other religious persons, do purchase lands, upon pain of forfeiting the same to the king; or put their children in school.—“Answer—the king will thereof be advised.” Cotton’s Abr. See Jopp, Hist. Refl. 200. And although the complimentary demeanour of Edward the Third often put their modesty to the test, by asking their advice in matters to which they declared themselves unequal, it must be owned, that, in general, they were treated with very little ceremony by the prerogative monarchs down to the accession of the Stuarts. For a long time after their becoming an acknowledged part of the legislature, their cooperation seemed to be looked for rather as occasional than essential;

—the sheriffs sometimes summoning them, sometimes premitting them, and sometimes garbling their attendance in obedience to the directions of the monarch*. This attendance was long felt as a burthen by themselves. When assembled, their humility was often abject, and their obsequiousness pusillanimous and servile. So great a point, however, had been gained by them, or rather for them (for it appears to have been the work rather of the barons than the people themselves), in the reign of Edward the first, by the statute de tallagio concedendo, which gave the death-blow to the royal power of taxing the demesnes of the crown independently of parliament, that from that occurrence may be observed a gradual and almost involuntary enlargement of their dimensions, and the silent accumulation of that fulminating force, which, when exploded by the events of a subsequent period, found no stay or security in the empire capable of resisting the shock. Mr. Jopp produces a series of instances to illustrate the state of election from the time of Edward I. to the end of Henry VI. by which it incontrovertibly appears, that the gross irregularity of the proceedings relative to the choice of representatives was such, as to afford no colour for assigning the perfection of our constitution to this period.

As the permanent and independent revenue of the crown became gradually reduced, and as the nobles declined in opulence and power, the grandeur of the commons advanced. In the reign of Richard II. the habit of presenting petitions upon grievances became frequent, and, as Mr. Jopp observes, "they naturally formed the groundwork of such laws as were made upon the points they noticed." The same author very judiciously adverts to the use that was made by the nobles of this channel for originating their own measures, in preference to a personal and direct introduction of them in the upper house, which seems to have been very obviously the source of that great and formidable engine of popular jealousy,—the right of impeachment. In the reign of the Tudors, the Commons lost something in dignity of character, while they continued to ad-

* In 12 Edward III. the sheriff of Wilts. returned for Sarum, Wilton, and Downton only, and concludes the return by saying there were no more cities or boroughs in his county; yet Badwin, Calne, Malmesbury, and Marlborough, had frequently returned before in the same reign. Mr. Prynn and Dr. Brady give various instances to the same effect. Dr. Brady, indeed, states that on some occasions boroughs might either be so poor as not to be able to pay the wages (which until the 17 Ed. II. amounted for a burgess, to five groats a day, and after that time to two shillings, the wages of the knights being double), or the members, or that there might not be, at particular times, in certain boroughs, two persons fit for the trust, the persons then chosen being really townsmen or burgesses.

vance in the substance of power. In the mean time the crown was making a wasteful display of its energies, and condensing by its pressure the column of resistance. It is rather curious to observe, during the reigns of the Tudors, the different powers of the state girding themselves for the ensuing contest, and preparing to descend into the amphitheatre to dispute the prize of sovereignty. It was the misfortune of the monarchs, however, for a long time either to mistake the enemy, or the politic method of attack. They managed with some address to reduce the nobles; who, by the numerous creations by patent, had already lost their prescriptive ascendancy, while they contented themselves with frowning at the presumption of the Commons, and accepting their cooperation for breaking down the old aristocracy. Thus the author of the *Oceana* well observes, with his accustomed bluntness, that "the jealousy of Henry VII. lest the dissension of the nobility, as it had brought Lim in, might throw him out, made him travel in ways undiscovered by them, to ends as little foreseen by himself; while, to establish his own safety, he, by mixing water with their wine, first began to open those sluices that have since overwhelmed not the king alone, but the throne."

While the sovereigns were vacillating between a system of terror and cajolment, the Commons, in the guise of apparent humility, were amplifying their permanent resources and substantial privileges. Exemption from arrest, the jurisdiction of elections, the postponement of the royal veto to the end of the parliamentary discussion, were among the progressive steps of their power; while the monarchy, with equal celerity, was declining in its ancient resources. Its nominal powers, its conscious greatness, its habitual grandeur remained, but its *natural* means, its hold upon the interests and affections of men, had, when Charles I. began his reign, become comparatively weak. The people were irritable, erect, eager for change, full of sour fanaticism in religion, and false persuasions in politics;—the king was unprepared for the change, unacquainted with the real weakness of his throne, without dexterity in the management of faction, full of a stately reliance on the sanctity of his cause, to which conscience and habit had bound him, and amidst the wreck of his resources, vainly clinging to the staff of his prerogative. After the melancholy end of this unequal contest, majesty recovered its usual splendour; its orb was again filled; but its radiance was borrowed, and its place in the system was changed.

The abolition of military tenures, which took place shortly after the restoration, despoiled the crown of the remains of its feudal strength, and with it carried away a great body of legal

and direct influence. There appears to be sufficient proof that the feudal prerogatives of wardship and marriage produced an influence very great and very liable to abuse, and was not overlooked as a method of warping the integrity of parliament*. "It appears," says Mr. Jopp "that the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, also master of the court of wards, wrote to the sheriff of Surrey, requiring to suspend the return of burgesses for Gatton, until he should send instructions. The borough was probably then depopulated, and one Mr. Copley used to nominate the burgesses this gentleman was dead, and his heir, being within age, was the queen's ward." Upon the whole, Mr. Jopp thinks, and he really appears to form no opinion without deliberation and enquiry, that this engine of influence, under able management, must have been eminently superior in effect to any power that has accrued since its abolition. "But no idea," continues this very sensible writer, "of the ancient power of the crown, or of the dependance of the people, will be competently formed, unless the unlimited discretionary authority of the courts of the star-chamber, and high commission, and the power of martial law be understood. Nothing that Blackstone has said, or that any one can say, of the influence arising from the collection and expenditure of the revenue, immense as it is,

* We will here introduce part of a note from Mr. Jopp on this subject. "Hartian catalogue, vol. i. p. 416, No. 703, &c. In this most valuable collection of ancient documents, and among the Cottonian MSS. there are frequent evidences of interference in elections by courtiers and peers, and of the disposal of wardships there are also many notices. Even so lately as the time of James I. they were objects of attraction to the greatest personages, as appears by a letter from Queen Ann to the Marquis of Buckingham, written for the purpose of obtaining the wardship of George Saville, grandson of Sir George Saville, *ibid* vol. ii. 6986 Henry III. thinking him (it peculiarly happy in his second marriage with Eleanor of Provence, had many young ladies brought from that country, whom his majesty caused to be married to his wards. *Andrewe's History* Wardship and marriage seem to have been disposed of perfectly ad libitum Celestia, wife of Richard, son of Colborn, gave £1 for the wardship of her own children. William, Bishop of Ely gave cccx marks that he might have the custody of Sir le Beauchamp, and marry him to whom he pleased. Alice returned cxx marks that she might not be compelled to marry. See a variety of similar transactions in the reign of Edward I. in *Madox, and Stuart, View of Society*.

"In later times there is an account of the character of Lord Burleigh, of rather a panegyric on his conduct as master of the wards, who is represented as keeping but few wardships, either for himself, or to give. A Latin illustrating that part of his praise, the writer observes that at a number between 60 and 80 but of two or three, or, two years and a half he could sell, and that 20 only remained in that space of time for him to give and sell, upon which, it is added, he could not raise much — *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*."

or from the command of the army, or from any other modern source, can outweigh the extent of undefined power exercised by the crown, by means of these jurisdictions."

Mr. Jopp furnishes us with an ample detail of instances of direct influence by the crown, in elections, from the reign of Philip and Mary to the revolution, and shows indisputably, that the House of Commons, during that period, was exposed to every species of influence; and it should be observed also, that at this time, and until the 7th of King William, the purity of elections "was unguarded by any direct law against that most pernicious of all artifices, bribery."

We have principally followed the line marked out by Mr. Jopp, in giving to our readers the above very hasty sketch of parliamentary and constitutional history. And we presume to think, that enough has been said to shew the tricking misstatements, or the specious ignorance, of those popular leaders, among whom the "perfect equality of representation, as supported by the ancient practice of the constitution," is an eternal theme of declamation*. The obvious truth is, that what these persons recommend has no precedent or model in the history of this country; but must be considered as standing on its own intrinsic merit, or the authority of its grave projectors. Their schemes of reform are all their own, their ancestors have no posthumous share in them. Antiquity is in no wise implicated in them. The question is, whether the untried projects of a few individuals, such as the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Major Cartwright, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Roscoe, and Sir Francis Burdet, or others of still inferior capacity, are to weigh against the whole system of representation, as it stands at present, which, however defective in theory, has been a source of so many practical benefits to the country, and has raised so high the standard of our felicity. We are far from entertaining an ungrateful sense of the virtues of those who have lived before us, and which are the stock from which we have derived our present happiness. We have a reverential regard to the lineage and pedigree of our rights, but our reverence arises from our considering them as transmitted to us marked with the progressive improvement of each succeeding æra. We endeavour to shew our respect for the parent source, not by discarding the derivative accumulations, but by a sober mistrust of all sudden changes, and conventional reforms. We shrink from disturbing arrangements, into which the constitution has imperceptibly been mellowed by its own

* See First Address to the Electors of Great Britain. Wyvill's Political Papers, vol. 1. p. 316.

inherent principle of adaptation to the condition of society, and the state of public opinion; we had almost said, by a sort of appetency of its nature, conducting it instinctively to the means of its own preservation. We are not ignorant, that to maintain in activity the principle of improvement, which belongs to our constitution, perpetual exertions are necessary; and that the different departments of our political system cannot be too watchful of each other. What we mean to impress as our firm opinion, and from which we shall not hastily depart, is, that without any thorough systematic reform, there is good reason to expect, that by the constant exercise of enquiry into abuses, and the temperate application of suitable remedies, political liberty, which consists in personal security, and depends upon the stability of the laws, may reach a still higher state of improvement, without in the least deranging an economy, which balances, though not upon geometrical principles, the opposite tendencies of our constitution—balances them on principles belonging to the nature, but transcending the contrivance of man.

The loss which was sustained by the monarchical part of our government, of its *avowed legal-direct* influence, by its unsuccessful struggles with the people, produced a new description of influence, less honourable than that which had before subsisted, as not proceeding from the abuse of *acknowledged* authority; less honourable also, and less safe than that which has since grown out of the patronage and riches of the state, and which began to shew its crescent form and secondary power in the system as the sun of prerogative was setting. The first careless and profligate displays of this new art of governing brought an increase of odium on the family of the Stuarts; but since the reign of William, when the monarchy was further retrenched by a new maxim of the constitution, which made the legislative prerogative of the veto in the prince unsafe to be exercised, necessity, and a sort of natural struggle for life, have been gradually perfecting the economy of *indirect* influence, and changing a government of force into a government of favour. The stream of politics, checked in its ancient current, has worn itself a new channel, and continues to keep “the noneless tenor of its way.”

The reformists must excuse us, if exercising that liberty of speech for which they contend, and for which we will as boldly contend, we tell them, that their favourite phrase of “the genuine theory of liberty,” is perfectly sickening to us. Liberty has no theory, but is virtually and truly that which produces the largest practical amount of human felicity, with the least

liability to disturbance from the passions of our selfish nature. That "boroughs, in their present state, are a public nuisance," that "the gross abuse in the representation originates chiefly in royal innovation," that "the ancient practice of our constitution ought to be restored," that "the statute of qualification was truly a statute of disfranchisement," that "the continuance of the same parliament beyond a single session is a virtual annihilation of the Commons of England," that "the fabric of the present House of Commons ought to be utterly abolished," though these, and a hundred other dogmas of the like tendency, composed the creed of the committees and sub-committees of reform, the proceedings of which are to be found in Mr. Wyvill's collection of political papers; and though these declarations were thought worthy of adoption by the general committee, whose resolutions received the signature of C. J. Fox, we must beg leave to enter our protest against them, as a senseless, unfounded, impracticable, hypocritical jargon. We doubt not but that Mr. Fox, at the time he adopted these opinions, was very well satisfied that they were in reality such, that even if the ministers of the day had been disposed to carry them into practice, the good sense of the nation would have risen against them: but the pliable integrity of a party-man has already been enough discussed; it is a disgusting and distressing theme.

There is a variance between the reformists of 1782, and the present political purists, which is worthy of notice. At a meeting of the electors of Westminster, in 1782, Mr. Fox animadverted with severity on the sentiments of the Earl of Shelburne, who, while he promised to promote parliamentary reform, professed an opinion, that in lieu of the influence which this reform was to destroy, it might be necessary to restore the obsolete and "dangerous practice of giving the royal negative to bills, which have received the consent of the two other branches of the legislature." In the course of his animadversions upon this occasion, Mr. Fox plainly intimated not only the necessity of destroying indirect influence, and that his precious expedient, as he was then minded at least, was universal suffrage, but, at the same time, of practically abolishing the veto.

Now the modern reformers affect an anxiety for the preservation of the prerogative, equal to their antipathy to the influence of the crown. Is there a man in the country that does not laugh at this pleasantry? Will not the manager of the company, when he shall retire from that public stage on which he has played so many parts, in reviewing the various mysteries and arts of his gainful career, shake his easy chair at the recol-

jection of this piece of humour, more than at all the impositions upon the people, to the success of which he has contributed.

We differ from Lord Shelburne in this, that when the influence of the crown is gone, we know of no power in the state that can guarantee the exercise of the royal veto. No man can think this to be practicable who duly reflects upon the cause of its long desuetude. Is it not the consequence of a gradual change in the circumstances of the nation? Is it not the consequence of a public feeling, which has settled into a maxim? Can this be restored at the will of any minister, or the fiat of a prevailing party in the country? That it cannot, is plain to every honest and reflecting mind; and, therefore, any theory of reform which supposes this to be practicable, is built on no foundation of experience or analogy. Who shall take down from its place in the sanctuary this spear of Goliath, and put the unwieldy weapon into the hand of the sovereign? or who, while the prince is employing it, will answer for the security of the sceptre?

Still, however, our modern reformers contend for the necessity of replacing this influence, by the restoration of a proper proportion of the prerogative. By this they hope to avoid the dilemma of either proposing a vain thing, or advocating republicanism; since every man of sense, and almost every school-boy feels, that we must have active prerogative, or silent influence, if the kingly government is to be supported. If they take away the influence, they perceive that to leave the elements of monarchy standing, they must set up the prerogative. But in their endeavour to prove their constitutional orthodoxy, they have gone into an excess which plainly shews their ignorance of the consequence of political measures. Thus Mr. Cobbett has contended that the parliament has no manner of right to interfere with the king's choice of his ministers; and a popular commoner has argued for restoring to the sovereign the prerogative of settling what burghs shall be allowed, and what shall be excluded from the privilege of sending members to parliament. It would be a waste of room to comment upon the absurdity of either of these propositions. One thing is certainly to be said for them, viz. that they are not only reconcilable, but that the one is well adapted to support the other. For if the commons are to be no party to the choice of ministers, nor to interfere with their continuance in place, the king and his servants become insulated from the people, and must maintain the conflict together: majesty must put itself foremost and sustain every attack, till at length, as the author of the

Oceana has somewhere expressed it, there will be a perpetual wrestling-match between the monarch and his people. In this state of exposure, the proposal last alluded to comes in to the relief of the king, by enabling him to put all the burghs in the kingdom at the disposal of the treasury. To such absurdities are men driven when they seek to substitute speculation for experience in human affairs, and quarrel with what is practically good, because they can prove it to be false in theory. But we do not give to all who clamour for prerogative the credit of being real friends to it. We wish these professed friends of prerogative to reflect, if they are sincere, that if their point were carried the dilemma of the crown would be this,—either it must suffer all its power to be lost, or it must contend hand to hand with opposing factions.

It is a maxim of unquestionable verity, that power is attracted by property. The house of commons, therefore, which holds the purse, has acquired insensibly by far the largest share of the real power of the country. Theorists have amused themselves with the picturesque idea of the balance of powers, controuling each other by their opposite tendencies, and maintaining their allotted places in the system, without any blending or intermixture of operation. Many fine observations have been made by De Lolme, Blackstone, and Montesquieu, on this happy counterpoise in the parts of the constitution of this country. Their illustrations are perfectly agreeable to the theory of the state, and are therefore well pleasing to the lovers of symmetry and system. But as practical representations, they have little more to do with the case than the vortices of Descartes. The House of Commons is the mart of business, as it is the focus of power, and there is hardly a person in the country familiar only with the newspapers, who does not know that if this part of the constitution did not include in its composition the elements of the monarchy and aristocracy, it would soon set itself in array against them both, and prove too strong for their united force. This is not theory. The history of the country supplies the example. It is, therefore, a problem much too hard for our solution, to determine how the business of government can possibly be carried on, unless the king and lords are indirectly represented in the commons, and have their hands upon that only lever by which the state can be put into motion. This is to speak fairly out, but not with greater sincerity than the times demand.

But we are very far from meaning to deny that this influence, for the necessity of which, to a certain degree, we have ventured to contend, may exceed a proper measure, and be carried to a

greater extent than is wholesome for the state. It is always a very rational subject of enquiry, we will say, of jealous enquiry. Neither is it possible to deny that at the present juncture the existing sources of influence are great and spreading. But let it be remembered that extension of the revenue, which is always considered as one of the greatest of these sources, is in an equal, or perhaps a much greater degree, a source of discontent; and that if the patronage of the crown is doubled in a time of war, the sacrifices which it calls upon individuals to make require some augmentation of influence to support the continuance of public effort. But under all this pressure of influence, what has been the strength of the party in opposition to government? And how far has it been able to avail itself of an antagonist influence in the country? Has it, or has it not, been sufficiently strong to answer all the purposes for which an opposition is desirable? These, at least, are questions worthy of being considered and answered, before the mind of the politician is made up on the dangerous extent of the existing influence. If it be admitted to be at all necessary, as we trust we have given some reasons for concluding it to be, there can be no fixed, assignable quantity allowed, abstractedly from the circumstances of the country. The quantity necessary to answer that wholesome purpose, to the exigency of which it must be bounded, will depend upon the dispositions, or the difficulties, of the particular conjuncture. Such were the difficulties in which William the Third found himself placed by the reduction of the prerogative, without the substitution of that indirect influence which has since arisen from the debt of the nation and the collection of the national revenues to pay it, that he was reduced much against his inclination, (for he was an honest man,) to resort to secret influence of the direct kind, and perhaps of any kind; and this only served his purpose occasionally; for he was unable to secure a regular majority. His situation, therefore, was uneasy, and his reign embittered by the animosities of parties, and a sour opposition to his vigorous and seasonable activity. That the weakness of the executive forced this *secret direct* influence into action for the greater part of a century after the revolution, appears plainly enough from the history of that period. But with the gradual change in the circumstances of the country, DIRECT influence seems to have given way to a system infinitely less exceptionable, and, in the opinion of many wise men, not exceptionable at all. It is the nature of this sort of influence, last alluded to, in some measure to rise and fall with the exigency for its

application; and if the case were better sifted than we have room or leisure, or perhaps ability, to do, it might be discovered that the average exertion of this influence is regulated by reference to the actual necessities of the state and the true interests of the country.

It is curious, and would be entertaining, if all frauds upon the understandings of the people did not lead to dangerous consequences, to observe how the same political facts are twisted into directly contrary inferences by different reasoners, as their general wishes or feelings prompt them, or by the same persons as their places in the political system may happen to be shifted or reversed. In the year 1809 (and it is material to attend to the situation of parties at that time) a writer in a very distinguished journal, who had been accustomed to treat all subjects of political discussion with that self-complacent decisiveness which cuts through every difficulty, felt himself on a sudden embarrassed with the extreme delicacy of the great question of parliamentary reform, and more particularly as it stands connected with the topic of the influence of the crown. Professing still, in terms, to be the strenuous friend of parliamentary reform, he proceeds with his usual didactic solemnity, to an examination of all the grounds of popular expectation of specific benefits to result from it, and shews them to be, one and all, miserably fallacious. He shews, for it is easy to shew it, that it is a piece of wretched quackery. Will it ease us of our taxes? No, says this omniscient reviewer. "To expect this is in the highest degree chimerical. The greater part are actually levied to pay the interest of the debts which we have contracted, and a vast proportion of the remainder is required for the maintenance of the war in which we are engaged." The war, as almost all the other wars by which our debt has been created, has hitherto been most unquestionably popular; and it is reasonable, therefore, to presume, would have been carried on to at least as great an extent by a legislature more immediately under the influence of popular feelings. The same writer then remarks on the subject of influence, that it has greatly accumulated, (and who can deny it?) but then he allows that the burthen of taxation being so great, it can never be the interest of a minister to increase it, with any view to an increase of influence; which would be more than counterbalanced by the loss of popularity. "The most effectual bribe which a minister can now give, is in the form of a remission of the taxes." He concludes this branch of this subject with very properly observing, that the great body of the people never yet engaged eagerly in the pursuit of an un-

attainable object without throwing the frame of society into disorder. He then takes a view of the state of patronage vested in the executive, upon which he remarks that all our present vast establishments are now a part of our existence, and can neither be abandoned nor diminished; and though we are transformed into a nation of public functionaries, yet so we must remain. And though he declares it to be a grievance, yet it cannot be removed. Neither can the salaries of the public officers be diminished. They are rather inadequate than excessive. Therefore, he concludes, that he sees no prospect of removing or even alleviating the evil by any alteration in the House of Commons. The only remedy that occurs to him, is to break down this patronage, as much as possible, into separate and detached portions, and to vest them in local assemblies.

But then, he says again, that this remedy would be very inadequate and very inconvenient, and there he leaves us, to extricate our intellects out of these labyrinths as we can. He then complains of the monopoly of all posts of importance, which he seems to think are engrossed by a few great families. But this appearing, probably, to be no very tenable proposition, he lets loose his hold, and soaring again into a *metaphysical* elevation to take an ampler ken of the *real* mischiefs which he has undertaken to point out, he settles at length with all his vengeance upon the heads of the present administration. He concludes with a panegyric upon the government of influence as succeeding to that of prerogative, and decides that the reign of influence and freedom began together. Now it is rather singular to find in this same journal, this same writer (for it is pretty clear, from the internal evidence of the composition, that it is the same writer), about two years afterwards upon the same subject of parliamentary reform, declaring that "the prerogative is the measure and ultimate support of the legal authority;" and that "a government of influence is necessarily the government of a faction, which has made itself illegally independent both of the sovereign and the people;" a little afterwards "he states that there is no ground for any jealousy of popular independence, where all the powers of the crown are acknowledged to exist for the good of the people:" "It is evidently," says this writer, "quite extravagant to fear, that any increase of union and intelligence, any growing love of freedom and justice in the people, should endanger or should fail to confirm all those powers and prerogatives."

Now surely there cannot be two opinions more completely at variance than those which we have extracted from the same

publication. In the one place the reign of freedom and the reign of influence are said to be coincident, in the other the people are persuaded to be reconciled to the full exercise of the prerogative; and the monarch is told that, as all the powers of his crown are given him for the good of the people, he may rest assured that the growing intelligence of the people will not fail to confirm all his powers and prerogatives. But this writer must know that the monarch is in the frequent exercise of all his prerogatives, except that of the rejection of bills which have passed both houses of parliament. This is the only prerogative about the safety of exercising which there is really any question. How much more plain and manly, therefore, it would seem, if this writer had at once asserted (what must have been his meaning, if he really was conscious of any specific meaning), that the present improved intelligence of the people is a pledge to the king for the safe recurrence to his veto as often as he finds it convenient.

Now with respect to this *improved state of spirit and intelligence of the people*, we shall perhaps be thought a little uncivil in declaring ourselves to doubt, whether, admitting the fact, (and we do not deny it,) all this spirit and intelligence runs so necessarily and directly, as this reviewer seems to think, into the channel of loyal submission to the government, and sober attachment to the laws. A portion of it may enter into the healthful circulation of the body politic, but no inconsiderable part, we will venture to suggest, will exert a morbid tendency; will surcharge the vessels, or stimulate too powerfully the action of the system. Produce, however, what it may, we hail the progress of mind in the mass of the English people. We entertain no favourable opinion of any government which stands in awe of the advancement of intelligence in the governed, or which does not move in harmony with the moral order of the world. But we do not know, that because a rising spirit and more active state of mind discovers itself in the people, the government may therefore relax in its vigilance and solicitude concerning the means of its own preservation.

The contrary ideas are so engaging, that it is a pity they cannot be acted upon. They have charmed the listening youth of Greece in the groves of Academus, and on the banks of the Ilyssus; but, alas! the rough and practical lessons of history inform us that no government has become securer, or freer, or better settled, as the people have advanced in intelligence. The truth seems to be, that as the minds of men advance, they are apt to diverge, and that disunion and intelligence are often found to

grow upon the same stock. Government is rarely the fruit of intelligence. Our own is eminently the creature of accident, and in this characteristic of its origin and progress consists its felicity and its excellence. It has been wrought out of emergency and occasional occurrences; and in very many instances its happiness has consisted in its contradicting by its results the good contemplated, and the object intended to be accomplished. As long as the *improved intelligence* of the people is soberly employed in tracing events to their proper causes; in improving their practical knowledge; in acquainting themselves with the value and advantages of their government; in preserving it from abuse and encroachment, and drawing maxims for the future from the experience of the past, it will be well employed; but if in the hope of having better ministers, a better parliament, and fewer burthens, they trust to their understandings for reforming the state, unravelling its confusion, simplifying its structure, and restoring its lost appendages, we shall soon be sick of our *improved intelligence*, and cry out with the poet,

“Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.”

That this *improved intelligence* is sometimes a little obstreperous and refractory, the reviewer seems to be aware. He is of opinion, that by its operation the people are “become too strong for their rulers.” He affirms that “kings, and nobles, and ministers, and agents of government, are no longer looked upon with veneration and awe; but rather with a mixture of contempt and jealousy.” These are broad propositions, and the reader is to judge for himself how far they are efficaciously qualified by explaining them to have reference only to corrupt governments, and to weak and vicious administrations. But our own government is surely among the most corrupt, if it stands in need of the great reform for which the reviewer and his friends contend.

It has been observed by Mr. Rose, that although the influence of the crown has increased very greatly within the last fifty years, yet that it has not kept pace with the general increase which has taken place in the same period in the wealth, weight, and influence of the people. Over this observation, which really seems to us to be as sensible in application, as it is true in fact, the reviewer is very triumphant. And he answers it by saying, that though, it is true, there is far more wealth in the country than there was fifty years ago, there is not more independence; there are not more men whose incomes exceed what they con-

ceive to be their necessary expenditure. There is more extravagance, a greater craving, and consequently more ambition.— There are more persons practically needy, impatient of embarrassment, and ready to sell themselves for preferment. Now it is singular that this is a favourite argument made use of by Mr. Windham in his famous speech on Mr. Curwen's bill, in support of what he so strenuously contends for—the necessity of influence to maintain in their efficiency the executive functions of the state. And all this is the more singular, as the reviewer observes in quoting the argument of Mr. Rose, that he will do Mr. Windham the justice to say that he does not make use of the same argument. And true, he does not; but it would have been candid in the reviewer to have added, that Mr. Windham, in stating the fact in a manner similar to the reviewer, drew a conclusion from it diametrically the reverse of his. For this very inadequacy of our riches to satisfy our wants and our extravagance he points to as an active source of popular discontent; and though with some who are within the vortex of political temptation it may facilitate the overthrow of their principles, yet with the far greater part, who are beyond the influence of those expectations, it is more likely to excite the dispositions which are the usual offspring of a sour state of discontent. Our readers will forgive us for quoting a part of this passage from Mr. Windham's speech :

“ In seeking to embody the natural and unavoidable discontents of mankind for the purpose of overturning governments, which is the general description of what I should understand by jacobinism, it has become necessary to have recourse to something more solid and substantial than mere grievances of theory, and to take the discontents arising from real causes, whether the discontents themselves be reasonable or not, and then to connect them as effect and cause with something wrong, or said to be wrong, in the practice of government. The discontents you are sure of; they can never be wanting as long as men are men, and society is composed of various ranks and conditions, whereof some are higher and better than others. In a country like this, where a great portion of our immense riches is paid in contribution to the public service, no man will ever think himself as rich as he ought to be: for though the wealth has increased in full proportion, I believe, to its burthens, that is to say, to its expences; and though there never was a time when that wealth was more evenly diffused through all ranks and classes of people; yet as luxury has increased at the same time, not to say with equal rapidity, every man may, in some sense, describe himself as poor, inasmuch as his income and expenditure will, as a proportionate part, be less than it was before. It is, therefore, the singu-

lar and melancholy state of the poverty here described, that it is one which riches cannot cure."

With respect to the necessity for the existence of influence of some kind, we have sufficiently enunciated our sentiments. Concerning the *quantity* of influence necessary to the activity of the state, let us not be understood to hold a proposition so monstrous, as that it has no legitimate bounds. On all hands it will be allowed that this line is difficult, and perhaps hardly possible to be drawn. It appears to us, that it can only be ascertained whether it does or does not exceed these bounds, by recurring to actual experience, and the comparative degrees of it exhibited in different periods of the country. This will at least always ascertain whether or not it has been in a growing state. And it should always be recollected, that in its nature it is a relative thing, and is to be set off against the strength of the opposite influence which arises from the wealth, and weight, and eloquence, and imposition which draw the people the contrary way. It is to be remembered how great an influence the passions of men, under a keen sense of privation, are exerting in a counter direction to the interests of reason, and the support of a cause the benefits of which are faintly discerned, while the sacrifices it enjoins are sensibly felt and understood.

It is worthy of remark, too, that in the general estimation of the quantity of the subsisting influence, *every being in every office and department under government* is commonly reckoned as a figure in the account; as if every man who is fed by the bounty of another is of necessity attached to his interests; whereas, the real truth we believe to be, that government might well reckon among its bitterest enemies a great number of those who are nominally on the list of its dependents.

We have but little room left us, and cannot therefore go into details upon the actual state of the patronage and influence of the crown. We *know* it to be very great,—we *believe* it to be exaggerated. We do not conceive that a change in the constitution of parliament would go any way towards its reduction. We doubt whether this result is seriously expected from it by the best informed among its advocates. Of *one thing* we are very sure, viz. that it cannot stifle or resist the clamours or remonstrances of the people when they think themselves betrayed or abused. In the case of the Duke of York, though all the world expected a much greater development of misconduct to result from the inquiry, and the motives and manner of the prosecution have so curiously come out; yet, in the language of Mr. Windham, "such was the surprise excited in this country by a suspicion even of

corruption in persons of high rank and station, and such the commotion which any suspicion to that effect never fails to create, that the Duke of York, a member of the royal family, the king's own son, in full possession of his father's favour, was fain to quit the situation of commander in chief, which he had held for fourteen years before, and to withdraw into retirement, sooner than run the risk of the steps which parliament, it was feared, would otherwise be induced to take." Let us recollect the various inquiries which have of late been set on foot; the few instances of great delinquency which have been discovered, and the abuses which have been checked. Let us consider how many lists of ministers have been driven from the court by the influence of the public feelings. And last of all, let us not forget, that in point of fact, if we compare the amounts of the divisions of successive parliaments going with the ministers on trying questions, the members regularly supporting government are not greater than in former years.

On the great and perilous question of parliamentary reform, we are therefore, upon the whole, humbly though firmly of opinion, that nothing systematic, general, or radical, is at all called for by the circumstances of the country; and that nothing can be adventured in this shape without inconceivable risk to all the pillars of public happiness. We do not say that the wisdom of parliament may not, at an auspicious moment, make some alterations in the borough system, so far, perhaps, (but we speak with great timidity) as to remove some of those blemishes which afford a handle to the disaffected, and supply a plausible topic to the vulgar outcry. At the same time, we are satisfied that the representatives of these close boroughs are often among the wisest and honestest trustees of the public; and they are certainly the most firm against public clamour, which may often overrule the real judgment of those who represent large and populous places. To go back again to a fact, of which no one doubts, that the real power of the state is centered in the House of Commons, and that virtually and substantially the force of the executive resides in the majorities of that assembly, we surely cannot avoid seeing one clear advantage resulting from the close boroughs, the access they open to the influence of the great families of the nation, to the place where its counterpoise can be exerted with least violence to the machine of government. By thus intermingling the operation of the different sentiments, which different habits and stations inspire, we presume to think the country is more *diffusively* represented than it would be were the Commons entirely composed of persons

sent thither by the shopkeepers and artificers of the country; and it is also to be feared that were elections wholly popular, we should have few men either of business or knowledge in the house.

Now after all that we have written on this subject, we cannot find stomach for Mr. Roscoe's dish of reform, the great and fulsome ingredient in which is downright universal suffrage. Nor has he at all recommended it to our palates, by assuring us that it is made precisely after the receipt of Sir Francis Burdett. To drop our allegory, we seriously wish all the friends of reform to read Mr. Roscoe's letter. We think it will send them back with a sort of recoil nearer to the dictates of sound sense. It will be quite enough for our purpose to quote a few lines from the fifth page of the work.

"If I might use your own mode of illustration, I should say that this is not proposed to be done by changing the machinery of the state, further than such machinery is imperfect, decayed, or useless; and if the analogy might be pursued, it is precisely doing that which has been done in our principal manufactories, and by which we have in this respect obtained so decided a superiority over the rest of the world. That such a plan, if well digested, and passed into a law, by king, lords, and commons, would be carried into effect as easily as a turnpike bill, I have no doubt."

We shall not trouble ourselves with answering this sort of reasoning or illustration; it would be abusing the patience of our readers, and squandering our own time. We shall do better perhaps by presenting them with a page or two from the candid letter of Lord Selkirk to Major Cartwright at the head of this article.

"I allude to the observations which I had occasion to make in the United States of America, where a system of representation is established, approaching as nearly as perhaps is practicable to the theoretical perfection at which you aim; and where that system is combined with a general diffusion of property, of itself calculated to check in a great degree the force of corruption. A very short acquaintance with the legislative proceedings of America may afford conviction, that universal suffrage and frequency of election prove no bar to the misconduct of representatives; and that a political adventurer, raised to power by popular favour, is fully as likely to abuse that power, as is the purchaser of a rotten borough.

"There is no ground for the idea, that in that country public affairs are managed with a higher regard to the public welfare than in our own. The parliament of England, with all its corruptions, cannot be accused of proceedings approaching, in disgrace, to the infamous and bare-faced jobs, which have been transacted in many of the legislatures of America. It is evident to the most careless

observation, that the state of public morals is there worse than in England—that political integrity is less respected—that corrupt motives have not the same degree of check from feelings of honour, as they have among Englishmen. To sum up all, there is no room for comparison between the two countries in that great test of a good government, the administration of justice.

“When I consider that a country thus deficient in the most essential points of practical good government, has a constitution framed upon the very principles, to which the advocates of parliamentary reform look, as the foundation of every prospect of amendment in our own, I cannot avoid the conclusion that these principles are fallacious. The reasonings which have occurred to me, as to the source of the fallacy, would lead me into too great length; but I think the observations to which I have already referred sufficiently justify the opinion that parliamentary reform in England would not have the effects which its most sincere and zealous friends anticipate.

“Fully as I am impressed with the opinion that parliamentary reform is not the road to any practical public benefit, I am very far from thinking that there is nothing which requires reform in our government. I am well convinced, that there are many corruptions of most pernicious tendency, which may and ought to be eradicated. But we have to consider, how that object is to be effected, without endangering benefits of still greater importance. The advocates of a radical and entire reform have not perhaps fairly considered the extreme difficulty of guarding every avenue to abuse, and how often the measures which are taken for repressing it in one quarter, serve only to open for it some new channel still more pernicious.—We have a government in which, with all its corruptions, there is much essentially good: though particular cases of hardships may undoubtedly be quoted, yet it would not be easy to find, either in the past or present state of the world, a parallel to the great mass of public happiness, which has grown up in England, under those institutions which we complain.—The protection which our government affords to the personal liberty of the subject, the purity of the distribution of justice, and the security in which every man may enjoy the fruits of his industry, are surpassed in no country in the world:—hardly can we find one that bears the least comparison to our own. Let the value of that which we possess be fairly appreciated; and then let us consider coolly, whether the blemishes of our government are of such magnitude, as to warrant the application of remedies, which, if they do not cure, may kill.” (P. G.)

We will now dismiss our readers with once more taking the liberty to remind them that contemplative benefits, and practical advantages, are two very different things. If evils were not of indigenous growth, if they were not a part of the allotment of humanity, the business of reform would be a plain and simple operation, and little more would be necessary than sensibility to

feel, and vigour to remove: but unhappily the case is otherwise; and as there is neither absolute good, nor absolute evil in life, it is the business of him who would reform our condition, not simply to separate the evil from the good, but to balance between evils of different magnitudes. It is essential to those whose concern is with the constitutions of civil society, to distinguish between adscititious and necessary ills; between those which are compensated by no advantages, and those which grow out of our felicities, and cling to our blessings, as the badges of our imperfection. Without this thorough examination, we can never be the authors of a wholesome reform; and haply the same arrow that was aimed at an evil, may strike through a benefit that lies beyond it, and sacrifice a substantial good to the removal of a diminutive sorrow. Every constitution, therefore, that is adapted to the circumstances of man, must have a portion of evil in its composition; must be disposed rather with a view to convenience than grace; must suit with man's condition, his character, his passions, and his self-love. It is not a mere holiday puppet, to be gazed at for the niceness of its adjustments; but a solid machine for every-day-work, calculated to bear with rough mischances, and to survive the wear of vulgar usage;—not an apparatus of exquisite contrivance; not a political Venus, born of the froth of Platonic speculations; but a hard enduring substance, worn into polish by centuries passing over it, and shaped by attrition and use to the purposes of life and society.

ART. II. *A Treatise on Isoperimetrical Problems, and the Calculus of Variations.* By Robert Woodhouse, A. M. F. R. S. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Deighton, Cambridge. Pp. 154.

PROPOSITIONS of maxima and minima, which involve the properties of curves, are of two kinds. In one case the relation of the abscissa and ordinate is supposed to be given; the fluxion of the ordinate is assumed equal to nothing, and a particular value of the abscissa is thus determined, by which the magnitude of the ordinate under the required circumstances can be readily found. This is the process of the ordinary calculus. In the other case, the relation of the abscissa to the ordinate, or of x to y , is not given, but must be determined from the nature of the problem. Thus, if y be some function of x , it may be

represented by $\sqrt{2ax - x^2}$, or $\frac{1}{\sqrt{ax^n - bx^m}}$, or various other ex-

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pressions without number; and the form of the equation between x and y is the point to be determined. The first problem of this sort was proposed by Newton in the *Principia*, namely, the solid of least resistance.

The treatise before us relates to this latter kind of problems, which are evidently of a nature much more difficult and complicated than those belonging to the ordinary calculus. The attention of mathematicians was drawn to this subject soon after the invention of the method of fluxions, and some of the greatest names both upon the continent and in this country have been engaged in the prosecution of it. But it was not till after many years of patient and assiduous investigation, that a method was discovered sufficiently comprehensive for all the cases.

The object of Mr. Woodhouse in the treatise, of which we are now to give some account to our readers, is in a certain degree to combine the historical progress with the scientific developement of the subject, and to lay down and inculcate the principles of the calculus, whilst he traces its gradual and successive improvements. (See preface, p. iv.) The part of the work, however, which is assigned to narrative, refers almost exclusively to the improvements which led to the results of La Grange. "To history," says Mr. W. "we shall adhere no farther than is sufficient to preserve an unbroken series of methods, gradually becoming more exact and extensive; the series beginning with the first rude, though perfectly just, method of James Bernoulli, and ending with La Grange's exquisite and refined calculus of variations." (P. 14.)

The plan of combining history with science is much to be commended. It has been pursued with great judgment by Dr. Thomson in his system of chemistry; and it appears to us, that in all works of philosophical pretension, the advantages of this method, where it can be conveniently adopted, are great and obvious. The reason for its rare adoption in mathematical publications seems to be this: that few departments of science are limited in extent, and many of them have been advanced to their present maturity by a long succession of improvements, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

The work is divided into eight chapters. We are prevented by the nature of the subject from entering into a very minute detail of its contents; but we shall endeavour to furnish such a general view, as may enable our readers to form a tolerably correct idea of its manner and object.

In the first chapter we have the famous problem proposed by John Bernoulli, in 1696, which requires "to determine the

curve of quickest descent between two given points in a vertical plane." A solution of it was published in 1697, by his brother James Bernoulli, professor of mathematics at Basle, who determined the curve to be a cycloid. In this solution two principles are involved; the first, taken from the doctrine of the ordinary maxima and minima; namely, that quantities at or near their state of minimum, may be considered constant; the other, a new principle, assuming that if the time down the curve is a minimum, the time also down any element of it is a minimum; or, that the property which belongs to the whole curve, belongs likewise to any part of it. This principle the Bernoullis, and Brook Taylor, endeavoured to establish, as generally correct; but, though the application of it be just in the present instance, it is not universally true; and Mr. Woodhouse has, in a subsequent part of his work, mentioned both the exceptions to its universality, and the reasons of them. (See pp. 61, 62.)

In Bernoulli's solution the curve is determined to be a cycloid, without any regard to the relative position of the two given points, A and B, in the vertical plane. The same conclusion would be derived, if B had any other position in the plane; so that a farther problem arises, to determine that particular cycloid contained between A and the vertical line, down which the time shall be a minimum. This problem was afterwards proposed by James Bernoulli, and solved by his brother for any inclination of the line, and for any form of it; that is, for any line whether straight or curved. He demonstrated that the cycloid must cut the curve at right angles: but his method cannot be generally applied.

The next step in the development of the new calculus is "the famous programma of James Bernoulli, which contained the problem, whence the title of Isoperimetrical, since applied to all problems of a like kind, is derived;" (Mr. W. p. 11.): and this forms the leading article in Mr. Woodhouse's second chapter.

The problem was the following: Among all isoperimetrical curves between given limits, to find a curve such that constructing a second curve, the ordinates of which shall be functions of the ordinates or arcs of the other, the area of this second curve shall be a maximum or minimum. This problem was proposed in 1697. The second case of it, that relating to the arcs, gave no little trouble to John Bernoulli, and excited considerable altercation between him and his brother. At length, in 1718, a solution was published by the former in the Academy of Sciences, of which Mr. W. justly observes, "considering what was then the state of analytical science it is very admirable, and

merits the eulogium which he himself has conferred on it." (P. 13.) In illustration of his method, the present chapter supplies us with three examples. The first is to find the curve of quickest descent, when the length is given, and the second and third are the two cases of the problem of James Bernoulli, where the ordinate is a function, first of another ordinate, and secondly of the arc. The last example comprises the solution by John Bernoulli, in 1718, and the success of the present mode above his former attempts, arises from the assumption of the variation of three elements of the curve instead of two. The uniformity of his specific equations, was a considerable advance in the solution of isoperimetrical problems, and solutions of a more recent date have been founded upon a like principle of uniformity.

Here ended the researches of the Bernoullis.

"Towards the period of their close in 1715, Brook Taylor, in his '*Methodus Incrementorum*,' solved the problem of the isoperimetricals, on principles not different from those of the Bernoullis, but with some alteration of symbolical notation. The most material alteration or rather improvement, consisted in representing the fluxion of v , when \sqrt{v} is the analytical expression of the maximum property, thus, $\dot{v} = M\dot{x} + N\dot{y} + L\dot{s}$ which mode of expression, Euler, as we shall hereafter see, skilfully availed himself of." (Mr. W. p. 29.)

The state of the science at this period will be seen from the following account.

"The methods of the Bernoullis, and of Taylor, were held at the time of their invention to be most complete and exact. Several imperfections however belong to them. They do not apply to problems involving three or more properties; nor do they extend to cases involving differentials of a higher order than the first; for instance, they will not solve the problem, in which a curve is required, that with its radius of curvature and evolute shall contain the least area. Secondly, they do not extend to cases in which the analytical expression contains, besides x , y , and their differentials, integral expressions; for instance, they will not solve the second case proposed in James Bernoulli's *Programma*, if the isoperimetrical condition be excluded; for then the arc s , an integral, since it $= \int \sqrt{1 + \frac{dy^2}{dx^2}}$, is not given. Thirdly, they do not extend to cases in which the differential function, expressing the maximum, should depend on a quantity, not given except under the form of a differential equation, and that not integrable; for instance, they will not solve the case of the curve of the quickest descent in a resisting medium, the descending body being solicited by any forces whatever." (Mr. W. p. 30.)

The third chapter introduces us to the first memoir of Euler upon this subject, published in 1733.

“He there distributes his problems into classes. In the first are problems, like that of the brachystocrone, and the curve of least resistance, with the property of the minimum, but without the isoperimetrical condition, or any other. These are to be solved from the principle of the property of a maximum, belonging to the elements of the curve, as well as to the curve itself; and from the principle of the equality between two proximate states of a quantity, when near its minimum or maximum; and they require for their solution the variation of two elements only of the curve.” (Mr. W. p. 32.)

An example is given, where $\int x \, ds$ is a minimum.

Those of the second class have, besides the property of the maximum, some other property, as for instance, the isoperimetrical. These require the variation of three elements of the curve. After a manner not much unlike that of John Bernoulli, Euler deduces similar equations,

$$[c] \, p \cdot bg - q \cdot ci = 0$$

$$[d] \, r \cdot bg - s \cdot ci = 0$$

one from the isoperimetrical property $[A]$, and the other from the maximum condition $[B]$; and observing that q and s are frequently so compounded, that $q = p + d p$, and $s = r + d r$, or that the equations $[c]$ and $[d]$ take the forms

$$p \cdot bg - (p + d p) \cdot ci$$

$$r \cdot bg - (r + d r) \cdot ci,$$

he obtains the equation of solution $p + a r = 0$.

For convenience of solution this was a considerable step; and an important remark was made upon it by John Bernoulli, namely, that the properties $[A]$ and $[B]$ were commutable; thus whether we investigate the curve, which with a given length contains the greatest area; or the curve, which with a given area contains the greatest length, the resulting equation is the same.

The conclusions already obtained were generalized by their author, and arranged in a table containing fifteen forms. These were at that time very useful in practice, but are now superseded; a similar remark may be extended to nine additional forms, which he afterwards deduced.

The application of these forms was to the second class of problems, which involve only two properties. The third class contains three, and to this he now directed his attention. Of this sort is the following: Required the curve, which among all curves of the same length and the same area is such that the time down it is a minimum. Here four elements of the curve

must be assumed to vary, and the general form of the similar equations is $P \cdot bg - Q \cdot ci + R \cdot d\delta$, bg , ci , and $d\delta$ being similar variations of the ordinate, and the resulting equation of solution is $P + ap + b\pi = 0$. Hence if the quantities p , p' , and π are contained in the table of forms, the problems of the third class will be solved in a manner similar to those of the second.

By this time Euler had left the Bernoullis far behind. "Several important objects had been attained by him; the solution of problems involving three or more properties; the reduction of such problems to a dependence on two or more similar equations; the solution of problems of the first class, and of some of higher classes, by a more general method, and by reference to a table of formulae." (Mr. W. p. 47.)

These methods, however, were still defective.

"Problems, involving the differentials of x or y , of an higher order than the second, cannot be solved by them; for instance, that which requires, amongst all other curves, one in which $\int \frac{d^2y}{dx \cdot dy}$ is a maximum or minimum. Secondly, problems cannot be generally solved by them, which involve integrals, such not being constant; for instance, that in which it should be required to find a curve, that amongst all other curves has its center of gravity lowest. Euler solves this problem, when another condition, that of the isoperimetrical property, is added; for then the arc s , the integral of $dx \sqrt{(1 + \frac{dy^2}{dx^2})}$, is in all curves supposed to be the same." (Mr. W. p. 48.)

We come in the fourth chapter to the second memoir of Euler, in which he made very considerable improvements upon his former researches. In his former memoir, the analytical expression for the maximum being $\int v dx$, the resulting equation is deduced from the substitution of certain functions of x , y , &c. for v ; in the present memoir he follows the substitution of Brook Taylor, making

$$dv = m dx + n dy + p dp + q dq + \&c. \text{ where}$$

$$p = \frac{dy}{dx}, q = \frac{dp}{dx}, r = \frac{dq}{dx}, \&c. ;$$

and deduces a general formula

$$N - \frac{dr}{dx} + \frac{d^2q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^3r}{dx^3} + \&c. = 0.$$

This formula supersedes the table, which contained his particular equations in the former memoir, and belongs to problems of all classes involving definite expressions. "In fact all problems, in which integral expressions do not enter, are solved by it; and

although Euler himself, and afterwards La Grange, very materially simplified and expedited its proof, yet, as a formula of solution, it still remains as a final result of all researches on this subject." (Mr. W. p. 58.)

The number of ordinates, which must be made to vary depends upon the number of properties contained in the problem; and according to this number the problems are classed. But the number of terms to be used in the formula will depend upon the order of differentials, which the problem involves. If dx and dy alone be involved, two terms $m dx + n dy$ are sufficient. If dp be involved $= \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$, the problem is of the second order, and three terms are required, $m dx + n dy + r dp$. If dq be involved $= \frac{d^3y}{dx^3}$, it is of the third order, and four terms are wanted in the computation.

The preceding method is founded upon the principle, that if a portion of the curve possesses the property of maximum or minimum, the same property belongs to the whole of the curve. This is not true when the quantity v in $\int v dx$ contains the arc s or other integral quantities; in such cases the method cannot be applied, except when the integral is by the conditions the same in all curves, among which the required curve is to be found. Of the improved state of the science at this period Mr. Woodhouse speaks in the following terms:

"Very important objects were obtained by Euler in this memoir. The solution of problems involving differentials of any order; the invention of a formula including his former formulæ, which to the number of twenty-four he had inserted in a table; the partial solution of problems involving integral expressions; the establishment of his theorems and formulæ by easier processes.

"An author is usually, more than justly, fond of his last inventions: and Euler, by this memoir, thought he had nearly perfected the method of solving isoperimetrical problems; yet his methods were not without their imperfections. They afforded no general solutions of problems involving integral expressions; and erroneous solutions when the differential function depended on a quantity given solely by a differential equation not generally integrable; and the cause of these imperfections was the assumption of the principle, that the whole curve will be endowed with the property of maximum or minimum, if any portion whatever of it possess the same." (Mr. W. p. 63.)

The 5th chapter furnishes an account of Euler's tract, entitled "*Methodus inveniendi Lineas Curvas Proprietate maximi minime gaudentes.*" For a short view of it we shall again have recourse to Mr. Woodhouse.

"This work appeared in the year 1744, about three years after the publication of his last memoir on the same subject. It was intended, and with a few exceptions it must be conceded, to be a complete treatise; containing essentially all the requisite methods of solution, with great abundance and variety of examples and illustrations. There is wanting, however, to make it a perfect work, and on the subject the best extant, a new algorithm; a more compendious process of establishing the theorems; and certain supplemental formulæ, that determine, not the nature of the curve, if a curve be the object of enquiry, but the conditions according to which it must be drawn. These desiderata were afterwards supplied by the fertile genius of La Grange.

"The former memoir contained, as it has been already stated, abundance of valuable matter, but ill arranged. The distribution and arrangement, however, of the present work is extremely luminous and regular. Absolute maxima and minima are first treated of, which concern curves that are to be determined solely by the property of maximum or minimum; such a curve is the brachystochrone, which has the property of the least time out of all curves whatever that can be drawn between two given points. The curve, generating by its rotation round its axis the solid of least resistance, is another.

"If $\int \delta v \tau$ be the analytical expression of the maximum or minimum, v may contain either determinate or indeterminate quantities, such as integrals. Euler first considers the former cases, that is, when v contains only quantities, such as $x, y, \frac{dy}{dx}, \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$, &c. which are plainly determinate quantities, that is, of assignable value, when x or y is given.

"After absolute, relative maxima and minima are treated of; these relate to curves that are to be determined not solely by the maximum property, but conjointly by that and other properties. Such a curve is the brachystochrone, when the property of equal length becomes an additional condition; that is, when the curve of quickest descent is required, not amongst all curves whatever, that can be drawn between two given points, but only amongst those that are of a given length: such also is the brachystochrone, when a third condition, that of equal area, is added.

"In these cases of relative maxima and minima, the quantity v , when $\int v dx$ represents a property, may or may not include integral expressions; and since by an artifice, like that which we have stated, Euler reduces all questions, in which are involved two or more properties, analytically expressed by $\int v dx, \int x dx, \int x^2 dx$, to this form,

$$\int v dx + a \int x dx + b \int x^2 dx + \&c.$$

the determination of all cases is reduced, ultimately, to that of an absolute maximum or minimum." (Mr. W. p. 65.)

In treating the first and simplest case, where $\int v dx$ is the maximum or minimum property, and v a determinate function of x ,

η , $\frac{dy}{dx}$, &c. Euler adopts a method of demonstration similar to one which he had formerly used, since the assigned property belongs equally to the curve and its element. He assumes $dv = m dx + n dy + p dp + q dq$; and by calculating the variations, which arise in the several successive values of this expression from a variation of the ordinates, he obtains an equation of this form,

$$N - \frac{dr}{dx} + \frac{d^2q}{dx^2} = 0;$$

which formula, as Mr. Woodhouse observes, "will solve all questions of absolute maxima that do not involve integral expressions, or differential expressions of a higher order than dq , or $\frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$; and by means of the principle and formula stated in p. 56"—[namely, that if $\int v dx$ be a maximum, and $\int w dx$ a constant quantity, instead of two operations we may substitute one, and deduce the resulting equation from $\int (v + \mu w) dx$]"—“will solve all questions of relative maxima, that neither involve integral nor differential expressions of a higher order than $\frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$ ” (P. 70.)

Our limits will not permit us to enter into the investigation of this formula; and we shall therefore not attempt to explain the principles which determine what quantities suffer variation by a change in the ordinates, or how many successive values of dv are to be taken in the demonstration. This subject is clearly explained by Mr. Woodhouse: and we shall content ourselves with stating, that as in the last case the general expression was deduced by assuming three values in succession, so if four be assumed, the equation will be

$$N - \frac{dr}{dx} + \frac{d^2q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^3r}{dx^3} = 0.$$

Secondly, v may contain an integral expression, or be of the form $\tau/z dx$. In the solution of this case, the method of Euler, though similar to his last, is very tedious and complicated; and as it has been superseded by a better method of computation, no farther explanation of it is given in this treatise.

Euler had previously “reduced problems of relative maxima and minima to a dependence on as many similar equations as the properties proposed; for instance, if the curve required was to possess two properties, the equations would be of the form $R . bg - s . ci$, in which $s = R + dR$.” (P. 74.) In the present work he gives a general proof of the principle; and it is illustrated by Mr. W. in a very satisfactory manner. It is further shewn by this process, that

"All questions of *relative* are reduced to those of *absolute* maxima and minima: for similar reasonings and properties hold, when the curve sought, instead of two, has three, four, &c. properties: and if such properties be expressed by

$$\int v dx, \int v dx, \int v dx, \int v dx, \&c.$$

then we must solve the question as one of absolute maximum and minimum; and enquire what the curve is that has the property expressed by

$$\int v dx + a \int v dx + b \int v dx + c \int v dx.$$

"Euler, besides the cases already mentioned, solves also those, in which v contains quantities neither determinate, such as x, y, p , &c. nor integrals, but expressed solely under the forms of differential equations. What we have given however is sufficient to explain and illustrate Euler's method. The results of that method are, for the practical solution of problems, under a most convenient form. On that head there is nothing to desire. Neither is there any want of perspicuity in the principle or in the conduct of his method. It is the length of the operation attendant on his method, the want of mechanism in his calculus, that are objectionable. These inconveniences La Grange removed; but as in such cases it not unfrequently happens, whilst he rendered the process of calculation more expeditious, he deprived its principles of their plainness and perspicuity." (P. 78.)

In the 6th chapter we have some account of the calculus of variations as improved by La Grange. For the peculiar increment, which depends on the increase of the ordinate, he substituted the symbol δ . The use of this symbol is illustrated by Mr. W. in several instances. Like the symbol d of the differential calculus, it denotes either a quantity or an operation; and the rules of the differential calculus apply with little alteration to the calculus of variations. Whatever be the function v ,

$$\text{if } dv = m dx + n dy + p dp + q dq + \&c.$$

$$\text{then } \delta v = m \delta x + n \delta y + p \delta p + q \delta q + \&c.$$

In order to illustrate the use of the new algorithm, we are presented (p. 85) with another solution of the brachystochrone; it is conducted on the same principles with the former solutions, but the process is less peculiar.

Another improvement, introduced by La Grange, was that of deducing the expression for the variation of $\int v dx$, by combining with the variation process an integral process. His method is shewn in finding an expression for $\delta \int v dx$, where v is a function of x, y, p, r , &c. the law of the formation of p, q, r being as before. The following is the form deduced.

$$\delta \int v dx = v \delta x + \int dx \delta v \left(N - \frac{dr}{dx} + \frac{d^2 q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^2 r}{dx^2} + \&c. \right)$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &+ \left(P - \frac{dQ}{dx} + \frac{d^2R}{dx^2} - \&c. \right) \delta x \\
 &+ \left(Q - \frac{dR}{dx} + \&c. \right) d\delta x \\
 &+ \&c. + K,
 \end{aligned}$$

where K is the sum of the corrections introduced by the integrations.

If $\delta x = 0$, or x have no variation, the first part of this formula will coincide with Euler's; for the latter part we are indebted to La Grange, who further deduced the value of the variation, when taken between two specified limits. Euler's formulæ will determine the nature of the curve or the relation of x to y ; but other considerations sometimes occur in which they cannot be applied. For example: the curve of quickest descent between two given points, or between a given point and any other point in a right line or a curve, is a cycloid. This can be proved by the equation of Euler; but to determine the particular cycloid, down which the time is a minimum, or the angle in which the cycloid must cut the straight line or the curve, we must have recourse to the formula of La Grange.

The use of this formula, when adapted to the variation between two limits, is exemplified toward the close of the work in several cases, which may be considered as undetermined conditions, belonging to certain problems, in which the relation of x to y had been previously determined. The defectiveness of Euler's equations has thus been supplied, and the solution of isoperimetrical problems may be considered as complete.

The remainder of this chapter relates principally to the second and third problems of La Grange; and the variation of $\int v dx$ is determined according to different assumptions for the value of dv . These pages are so purely mathematical, that we despair of giving a very satisfactory idea of them without entering into detail; and we are unwilling to lengthen this already extended article by analytical disquisitions or the mere exhibition of formulæ. It may be sufficient to state, that among the expressions deduced is one adapted to the case, in which v contains an integral s , and that all the formulæ of solution to determine the nature of the curve were invented by Euler, with the exception of two; these two conclude the chapter.

The 7th chapter exhibits the general method of treating isoperimetrical problems, as given by La Grange in the "*Leçons sur le Calcul des Fonctions*." Mr. W. remarks of this method, that "it is distinguished rather by its mode of treating the question, than by any thing novel in its principles." (P. 100.) The

rules which it comprizes extend to all cases of maxima and minima, both absolute and relative.

The 8th chapter contains a variety of problems to exemplify the application of the principles already established. With a view to simplify and facilitate the solution of them, certain particular expressions are in the beginning of the chapter deduced from the general formula: they are for the most part easily remembered, and not difficult in application. The first eleven problems involve only one property, that of the maximum or minimum; "and therefore in strictness, as Mr. W. remarks, ought not to be classed amongst isoperimetrical problems, since they involve neither the isoperimetrical property, properly so called, nor any other equally affecting the theory and the analytical processes." (P. 121.) The remaining problems involve more than one property, and the author concludes his work with an illustration of the determinate formula of La Grange.

To those who are little conversant with mathematical studies, we are perfectly sensible that this account of Mr. Woodhouse's publication will at best appear somewhat obscure; and we are not quite certain that even all of our mathematical readers will follow out every part of it, unless their attention has been previously directed to this particular department of science. The subject certainly cannot be classed among such as are of very easy comprehension; but by those who have a taste for analytical pursuits, we think that the work before us will in general be read with pleasure.

To many the notation will be somewhat repulsive; and the question will probably be asked, why could not the author avail himself of the English notation instead of the foreign? where was the necessity for puzzling his readers by rejecting the language and the process, to which, if they understand the doctrine of fluxions, they are already accustomed, and involving his researches in the mists of *ds* and *deltas*? The advantages of a fresh notation ought unquestionably to be obvious, and such Mr. Woodhouse considers to be the case in the present instance*. Whether there was sufficient reason to justify the innovation we pretend not to decide; but we would certainly recommend to those who peruse the work to perform the differential operations in the differential language: habit will render the use of that language easy, uncouth and forbidding as it may at first sight appear.

It is frequently urged as an objection to analytical disquisitions, that their authors are in too great haste to generalize; hence it

* See preface, p. 6.

appears that some of their reasonings appear hardly conclusive, and some of the results not perfectly satisfactory. The force of this objection must be sometimes admitted; but it must be further observed, that general reasoning is often better comprehended when we see it applied in particular instances; and, unless we deceive ourselves, the former chapters of this treatise will be more fully understood after the perusal of the last, in which the formulæ are applied to the solution of problems.

Should it after all be demanded, what is the immediate use of these enquiries, and what practical purpose are they likely to answer, we venture to reply, that though the first place is undoubtedly to be given to those works of science which can be converted to the purposes of life, yet no science is therefore to be rejected because its application is not at first perceptible. The seasons would doubtless have observed their appointed periods, and the enjoyments of life would have suffered little diminution, though problems on isoperimetry had never existed; but it would be a new and a barbarous rule, which would fetter the laudable exertions of genius, and without any respect for intellectual excellence or the general improvement of knowledge, would look at practical benefits as the sole test and standard of utility. To combine practice with theory is unquestionably the higher praise; such was the praise of Maclaurin: "His peculiar merit as a philosopher was, that all his studies were accommodated to general utility; and we find in many places of his works an application even of the most abstruse theories to the perfecting of mechanical arts*." But he also must be considered as entitled to no mean commendation, whose labours are directed to improve the powers of the mind, and to extend the boundaries of liberal science.

In the prosecution of his enquiries Mr. Woodhouse has confined himself almost exclusively to the mathematicians of the continent. Among the reasons which induced him to pass over the researches of our own countrymen are these: 1. That he wished to arrive by the most regular process at the conclusions of La Grange. 2. That the chapters usually assigned to this subject in our treatises on fluxions are defective and inadequate. The chief notice which is taken of their labours we have in the following passage.

"The researches of Maclaurin, Emerson, and Simpson on this subject, may here be noticed. With regard to practical methods of solution, they do not extend so far as those of Euler, which we have been speaking of; and in point of perspicuity, if we except

* Life of Maclaurin prefixed to his Fluxions, p. xviii. second edition.

Maclaurin, the other two mathematicians are inferior to the learned foreigner.

"The methods of Maclaurin and Simpson (for Emerson's is plainly taken from that of the former,) extend to cases, in which more than one property is involved; but they are inapplicable to the three cases, and the connected problems enumerated in p. 30.

"Maclaurin's formula of solution is this: if x and z are functions of y , then if $x dy - z dy$ be a minimum or maximum, $x dy = z dy$. This result is included amongst Euler's. For since $x dy$ expresses one property, and $d x = \frac{dx}{dy} dy$, or since x is a function of y , we have by form 111, the quantity corresponding to P (see p. 41,) $= d(x \cdot \frac{dy}{dy})$, and for $z dy$ expressing the other property, by form 11,

the quantity, corresponding to $P = \frac{dz}{dy} \cdot dy$; consequently the resulting equation is $d(x \cdot \frac{dy}{dy}) = a \cdot dz$, and $x dy = a z dy$, the same result in fact as Maclaurin's.

"Simpson's method is equally restricted with Maclaurin's; it rests too on the assumption of the principle, that the property of minimum or maximum, true for the whole curve, is true also for any portion of it. The want of generality, therefore, in this principle, would vitiate the method in its application to the excepted cases.

"The methods just described solve not problems of greater depth and intricacy than those of the Bernoullis; although it must be remarked, they are invested with greater analytical neatness and compactness. They are not however more perspicuous; and even if they did possess greater extent and clearness, it would not suit the purpose of the present tract longer to insist on them, since they conduct us not towards that formula and algorithm, with which the researches on this subject have been closed." (P. 48.)

We must, however, be excused for thinking, that a little enlargement of the plan would have made this, at least in the estimation of Englishmen, a more perfect treatise. We would have recommended the addition of two chapters, each in fact independent of the plan, which the author has prescribed to himself. Of these the first should contain a distinct enunciation of the methods* proposed in the books of fluxions which have

* The following short account may give some idea of the methods adopted since the time of Maclaurin.

Emerson presents us with two rules. The first is deduced from the ordinates of a curve in arithmetic progression. The determination of the equation depends upon the position of the intermediate ordinate. The principle upon which his demonstration is founded is, that the maximum or minimum, which belongs to the whole curve, must belong to the part intercepted between the ordinates. Thus if

been published in this country, and a detail of the reasons why they are defective: the second should give the elements of the science, on geometrical principles. Many persons who shrink from the pursuit of abstruse enquiries, would read and understand the geometrical process, and make themselves masters of the elements. A very elegant and perspicuous chapter on this subject has recently appeared in the third volume of "A Course of Mathematics," by Dr. Hutton, who has reduced into system the chief propositions of L'huillier, Le Gendre, and Horsley, together with some additional propositions, which those geometers had not deduced. We should have recommended a geometrical chapter on the elements with the more earnestness, because with some writers it seems a settled principle, that geometry is never to be admitted, where analysis can by any contrivance supply its place.

If the length of this article appears to be disproportioned to the magnitude of the work under consideration, this circumstance

one given quantity = $A + B + C + D + E + \&c.$ and another which is required to be a maximum = $a + b + c + d + e + \&c.$ and all the quantities be supposed constant except two, which correspond, we have $C + D$ constant, and $c + d$ a maximum;

hence $\dot{C} + \dot{D} = 0$; and $\dot{c} + \dot{d} = 0$; and the parts C and D , c and d , being expressed in terms of the same variable quantities, we can from the solution of the equation determine the nature of the curve. His second rule applies to cases

which are somewhat more complex. He supposes $Ax - Bx$ to be a maximum or minimum, and proves $Ax = Bx$, A and B being functions of x or z . This process merely reciprocates the functions A and B . The demonstration of Lyons is similar to Emerson's; the same remark applies to Mr. Vince's.

Simpson's theorem supposes that when fy^mu is equal to a given value, then

$\int y \cdot \frac{u^2 \pm y^2}{y^{2n-1}}$ is a maximum or minimum; and his conclusion is that

is a constant quantity. Or more generally, if R and S

be functions of y , then in order to have $S \cdot \frac{u^2 \pm y^2}{y^{2n-1}}$ a maximum or minimum

S_u

must be a constant quantity. This expression is to be

applied to particular cases, and the equation of the curve to be deduced by substitution. For the cases in which a new condition is introduced, and to which this

expression does not apply, he gives the equation $\frac{z}{x} = \frac{pR \pm qS}{2}$, where p and q are constant quantities.

The principle of uniformity is introduced by most writers in the solution of cases after the manner of John Bernoulli.

will at least serve to prove to Mr. Woodhouse, that we appreciate with due respect the labour and ingenuity which he has displayed in the compilation of his treatise; and will also, we hope, preclude the necessity of additional recommendation to the lovers of analytics. If there be any part of the volume which we could wish to expunge, it is the notice of the quarrel between the two Bernoullis; and we wish it merely for the credit of science. When liberal minds are engaged in mathematical disquisitions, and abstract truth is the only object of research, it might be supposed that acrimonious feelings would never intrude; or if the detection of occasional error did sometimes alarm the vigilance of self-esteem, that the pain would be slight and the recollection of it would soon pass away. Of the irritation which could induce John Bernoulli to treat with marked disrespect the memory of a brother, who had been dead for sixteen years, and against whom he had no reasonable charge, we trust there are few examples. The fact however must be recorded as an additional proof, where proofs in abundance exist already, that no attainments in science can supersede the necessity of religious principle; that philosophical speculation is unable to purify the mind, and that we must look to christianity alone for the conquest of the passions and the reformation of the heart. If it could be made out, but it certainly never can be proved, that the love of abstract verities is fatal to those charities and affections which bind man to man, and form the harmony of social life: if every mathematician in short were of the temper of John Bernoulli, we should consider attainments in science as purchased indeed at an extravagant rate; and the mildest observation which we could bring ourselves to pass upon such learning would be in the words of the poet,

“When I weigh this seeming wisdom well,
And prove it in the infallible result
So hollow and so false, I feel my heart
Dissolve in pity, and account the learn’d,
If this be learning, most of all deceived.”

COWPER.

ART. III. *The West Indians defended against the Accusations of their Calumniators; or, Facts versus Prejudices.* By a Gentleman. Meyler, Bath. Mawman; Robinson; Hardy; London. 1811.

2. *The present ruinous State of the West India Islands submitted to the People of the British Empire, with a few Remarks upon the Imposition and Oppressions, under which the Merchants and Planters of those Islands have long suffered.* By a Native of Jamaica. London: Sherwood and Co. 1811.
3. *An Essay on the good Effects which may be derived in the British West Indies, in Consequence of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade; including an Inquiry into the present insular Policy of those Colonies.* By Stephen Gaisford, Esq. London: Baldwin; Hatchard. 1811.
4. *Notices respecting Jamaica in 1808, 1809, and 1810.* By Gilbert Mathison, Esq. Stockdale. 1811.
5. *Practical Rules for the Management and medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies.* By a professional Planter. London: Vennor and Co.; Hatchard. 1811.
6. *A Letter to the Governors, Legislators, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West India Islands.* By the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D.D. Bishop of London. Cadell; Rivington. 1808.

EVEN in these extraordinary times it would probably excite some surprise, were the farmers of Great Britain to present a petition to the legislature, setting forth, that they laboured under great "imposition" and "oppression," inasmuch as it was found impossible for them to make large profit, by their farms, consistently with their immunity from all personal superintendence; that their fields would not plough themselves, or their corn and cattle spontaneously proceed to the market or to the shambles, while their owners were enjoying the busy pleasures of the metropolis, or the vacant flutter of a watering place. Nor, supposing them to have succeeded by unfeeling, oppressive, or illegitimate contrivances, in rendering these opposite objects compatible, would their complaint appear more worthy of attention, should they fancy themselves injured by a legislative prohibition of these same contrivances. As well might the smuggler complain of the reduction of the duties on tea and spirits, or the band of midnight robbers and assassins, of those precautions of police which we trust will shortly deprive that numerous portion of the community of the vested interest which they have assumed to themselves in the acquisitions of industry.

That the complaints preferred in the two first of the above-mentioned pamphlets bear somewhat of the character to which we have alluded, we think will evidently appear from a brief summary of the contents of the third and fourth; while the two last afford experimental and convincing proofs, that the remedy for all the evils complained of has long been in the hands of the complainers, nay, that they have been solicited by motives of interest, of honour, of humanity, and of religion, by every sentiment in short which can influence the heart and the conduct of men, to hasten the application of it. Those who have been deaf to the solicitation, are very naturally suffering for their obduracy; and it is because we think that the skirmishing at the outpost, announced in these pamphlets, portends a grand attack upon the main citadel of the measure itself, that we have thought it incumbent upon us to investigate the merits of a subject which, amply as it was discussed for twelve years preceding the year 1807, is now reappearing under an aspect somewhat new, and supported by arguments which were merged in the supreme importance of the original question. The pamphlets before us are all (excepting the last), from the pens of persons of professional knowledge in West Indian affairs; their authority is therefore equal, and we think that a fairer mode of discussing the question can scarcely be adopted, than by first stating the evils which some of these gentlemen have felt, and after opposing to them the advantages *experienced* by others, to point out the *practical results* which have afforded complete satisfaction to the minds of the remainder. Thus may we hope to arrive at conclusions, which, however adverse they may be to the mistaken interests and the bad passions of some of the parties concerned, cannot with any shew of reason incur the charge of visionary humanity or morbid sensibility.

We have somewhere read that the characteristic qualities of an English gentleman are courtesy and courage. But the "*gentleman*" (Mr. Edward White)* whose lucubrations it is our duty first to notice, seems disposed to atone for any little deficiency in the former quality by a double portion of the latter. For in the very teeth of the recorded enormities of Messrs. Hodge and another planter whom we abstain from naming, to which the newspapers of the day gave enough of publicity to exonerate us from the painful task of detailing them, he actually sets out with the professed object of *justifying* the slave trade by proving "*that the condition of the negroes in the West Indies is preferable to their state in their own country.*" With this laudable

* See the title to the first pamphlet at the head of this article.

intent he proceeds to cite some authorities, to prove that slavery exists among some of the tribes in Africa; that the people are the property of the king, who may separate children from parents, wives from husbands, and tear asunder at his will all the ligaments of kindred. That human victims are offered up to the idols of the country, or sacrificed to the caprices of the chiefs, that certain English sailors were "seized, cut in pieces, salted, and eaten," and that the natives boasted to some Portuguese gentlemen who upbraided them with it, "*that English beef was very good.*" Our readers are no doubt fully aware what a complete justification all this (supposing it to be true) offers of the slayings, parboilings, and lacerations, of the African slaves by the *Christian* planters of Nevis, and Antigua. It is evidently a refined deduction from the enlarged and philosophical principle, that the true object of *all law*, and therefore of the moral law, is not so much the punishment of the individual as to prevent the *multiplication of crimes*.

Nothing therefore can be more conclusive than that A. may with perfect innocence rob and murder B. provided he can prove that C. would have perpetrated the crime if A. had abstained from it; for clearly no *additional* crime is thus added to the *stock of public vice*, but merely the same crime transferred to different agents; public morality therefore is not injured; unless indeed C. should set about to console himself for his disappointment by robbing and murdering D., which seems upon the whole not improbable. Nor have we heard that the transfer of many of the abovementioned cruelties from Africa to the West Indies has at all operated towards their diminution in Africa. The wars, the murders, the slayings, the forcible separation of the most tender connections, appear rather to have increased than decreased in that devoted country; and as Mr. Wilberforce with no less truth than acuteness has observed, Africa exhibits the only instance of a country which has had communication with others more civilized than itself; where the regions on the coast are in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism (which also are always found to be the greatest where the intercourse with the Europeans has been the longest and the most intimate,) while the interior countries, where not the face of a white man was ever seen, are far more advanced in the comforts and improvements of social life.

But our "gentleman" lays great stress upon the *protection* afforded to the slaves by the colonial laws; as if it was not notorious to every man at all acquainted with the actual state of society in the West Indies, that those laws are little more than a dead letter, unless where private pique or individual jealousy

among the planters may occasionally call them into action; and as one of the books before us plainly admits, were passed chiefly "with a view to silence the clamours for a reform at home." (*Practical Rules*, p. 13.)

We beg however that we may not be understood as intending to cast any *general* reflection upon the humanity of the *proprietors* of West India estates. We believe that the majority of those gentlemen would turn with horror from the sight of practices which are often perpetrated by their agents on their property, and that they are mostly desirous, without much inquiry, to draw from it the same profits which were enjoyed by those through whose hands it was transmitted.

But it must be recollected that very few of these estates are under the immediate view and management of the proprietors, and that the agents have an interest in forcing the labour of the negroes in order to recommend themselves to their employers by procuring great present returns, without regarding the ultimate deterioration of the property. Casting aside however all considerations of this kind, we must strenuously insist, that where the power of abuse *such as it has been exhibited* in the long career of impunity through which the enormities of Messrs. Hodge and the other planter were carried, exists, it is more than ordinarily liable to be called into action by the passions of men emancipated from the checks imposed by religion, morality, or the decencies of society. Governor Elliott's dispatches are damning documents in proof of this proposition, nor can any "gentleman's" arguments or assertions concerning the tender treatment of the negroes, contradicted as they are by the admissions of "professional planters" themselves, at all weaken their effect. We shall therefore take leave of the work before us, after presenting our readers with one of the most refined and original morsels of biblical criticism which we will venture to say was ever offered to the world. "Slavery," says this enlightened christian writer, "is distinctly authorized in many passages in Holy Writ, and *positively enjoined* in others, particularly in the 25 chap. Leviticus, v. 44 and 45. 'Both thy bondsmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the *Heathen* that are round about you, of them *shall* ye buy bondsmen and bondmaids.' 'Moreover of the children of the stranger that do sojourn among you, of them *shall* ye buy, and they *shall* be in your possession.' 'And ye *shall* take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession, they *shall* be your bondsmen for ever.' "Thus," he continues, "stood the old law, which" (to bring it home to christians) "our Saviour tells us he 'came not to destroy but to

fulfil." (P. 33, 34.) The deduction is really drawn with very logical precision, and the christian community owes great obligation to Mr. Edward White for the new light which he has let in upon us. We take shame to ourselves that we were not before aware of the *imperative obligation* under which we lay as Christians to purchase slaves and transmit them to our posterity; and we think that the circumstance throws considerable light on the causes of the aversion entertained by the planters to any attempt at converting their negroes to christianity. Those negroes would then of course be commanded by their religion to take slaves from among the *heathen*, and we fear that according to Mr. Edward White's interpretation of the imperative law, there would be something like an absolute necessity that they should lead away their own oppressors into bondage.

We cannot however dismiss this subject entirely, without observing in answer to all those reasoners who profess to justify slavery from the Bible, that christianity has undoubtedly provided, though without express precept, a sure and inoffensive remedy for all oppressive customs, in the gradual operation of it's mild and liberal maxims; these have in point of fact absolutely unloosed the bonds of slavery in most parts of the christian world; a fact honourable to christianity, and more conclusive to every man who believes that God turns the *hearts* of men as he wills, than the legal quotations of any gentleman whatever.

The next pamphlet treats the subject in a manner a little more consistent with common sense. According to this writer, "the present ruinous state of the West India islands" is entirely to be ascribed to certain "impositions and oppressions upon the merchants and planters of those islands," which are thus enumerated. In the first place it appears, that the planters by forced importations of negroes into the old and newly acquired colonies, and by exclusively directing their labour to the cultivation of coffee and sugar (although by the healthy occupation of agriculture they might have supplied their colonies with much for which they are now dependent upon foreigners), have exceedingly overstocked the market with those commodities; having raised and exported an average produce of about a third more than the present state of the European demand can take off: and the legislature has actually imposed upon them the *abominable oppression* of refusing to force a market for this surplus produce so acquired, at the expense of the agricultural interests of the mother country, and of interfering with those laws upon which the actual subsistence of her population depends; and in the case of the coffee, at the expense of the fair

and old established profits of the East India company. We are not surprised that in all this "*obstruction to industry*" the native of Jamaica plainly foresees "that a torrent of anarchy will rush in upon these islands, devoted, from a want of foresight in persons at the helm of affairs, to certain destruction." If the case be so, we are really very sorry for it; just as sorry as we should be to find that the farmers had raised more hemp than they could sell to a profit, or the breeders more cattle than the graziers could take off their hands. But we really can perceive but one effectual remedy for all this, namely, to reduce the supply to the demand, which in the case of the West India planter might be done with great political, and as we hope presently to make appear, with great moral advantage. We could never consent, for the sake of the farmers, to interfere with the Coventry ribbon-weaver, by enacting that ladies should wear hempen girdles; nor for the sake of the breeders to interfere with the cultivator, by enacting that arable land should be laid down in grass. We should certainly wish to afford them any reasonable relief; and in the case of the sugar planter we think that a diminution of duty might increase the home consumption of sugar for fattening cattle and other purposes, so as to take off a larger quantity of the article, and still to afford an equal revenue to the government. But we beg leave to suggest to the native of Jamaica, that to abstain from this measure is no imposition or oppression upon the merchant or planter, who has overstocked the market by methods, which we are certainly bound not to encourage in future; but that the granting of such a boon would be a very considerable indulgence to them.

But the grand "*imposition and oppression*," in the eye of the native of Jamaica, is evidently the abolition of the slave trade, a proceeding, he says, "that will eventually ruin the West India islands;" and he proceeds to prove this assertion by immediately begging the question he professes to discuss. "We find," he says, "a NECESSARY system of slavery existing in the West Indies, BY IMPORTING NEGROES FROM AFRICA for the agriculture of those countries;" and he then proceeds to the threadbare arguments, 1st. of the impossibility of cultivating the islands by white men; 2d. of the general condition of the negroes in Africa compared with their treatment in the West Indies; concerning which we think it quite superfluous to say another word; for it is as clear as the sun at noon, that the question concerning the NECESSITY of *importing negroes* does not rest upon the truth or falsehood of any of these propositions, but simply upon the question, whether or not it is possible, by a humane and enlightened system of treatment, to keep up the

population of the present labourers to an efficient standard. Upon this question the third, fourth, and fifth publications mentioned in the title, let in a flood of light that must remove every doubt; if any doubt can rest upon the mind even of the most ordinary political economist, that in a warm climate where the persons employed in tilling the earth have constitutions strong enough to resist the effects of severe labour,—just laws, sufficient food, and a fair attention to the precepts of morality and religion are sufficient not merely to enable these same labourers to keep up their actual population, but even to afford a considerable surplus for further cultivation, or for the pursuits of commerce and manufactures. Mr. Wilberforce's Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, proves, (p. 105, 6. 7.) that in climates and situations extremely unfavourable to reproduction, in the cold latitudes of America, in Bencoolen, in many parts of the West Indies themselves, the negro slaves increase their numbers by breeding. We sincerely trust also that those who have read with attention the last article in our last number, on Mr. Malthus's work, will want no additional reason to convince them, that if any actual depopulation take place in such situations, it must arise from causes that will only be aggravated by artificial supplies of people; and that a government is bound by every consideration of justice and policy to strangle the vices which interfere with the natural and ordinary progress of population, and with the designs of Providence.

Previous to the detail of the particular measures which are necessary to apply this theory with success to the West India islands, we do, in taking leave of the "Native of Jamaica," feel bound to state, for the serious notice of the "abolitionists," a most heavy charge of inhumanity, which he lays to their consciences in the following words.

"This very abolition," he states, "which preaches humanity, destroys in the breasts of the poor slaves the cheering hope and expectation of ever ~~meeting~~ again their nearest ties. It was no uncommon thing in the West Indies frequently to see crowds of slaves who were already established in the islands, going on board of African ships just arrived, and strictly inquiring if any of their relatives had been *snatched*, and brought away, from the cruel fate which they knew their conquerors always made them suffer. I have often witnessed a brother, sister, or a particular friend, ~~meeting~~ one another. I felt my share of happiness in seeing them thus brought together, and to perceive the newly arrived negro with so much pleasure, when he or she heard *what a better change the leaving of Africa would make in his or her happiness*. How can ever the abolitionists (*Query?*

misprint for slave-merchants) atone, and silence their own consciences, for the horrid massacres which the Africans are now committing upon one another?" (P. 36, 37.)

We have no doubt that this man of exquisite sensibility would bitterly inveigh, in common with his brother planters, against all methodists and missionaries, as being disgraced by cant and hypocrisy; and that he is a great champion against all whining pretensions to goodness and humanity.

We are indeed at a loss to conceive, how the "abolitionists" can sleep in peace, with the weight of this grave accusation upon their heads; the precise amount of which, however, we are unable now to appreciate, because we never happened to be present at the first ebullitions of delight of a person kidnapped by crimps or gypsies, when he found that other crimps or gypsies had kidnapped his "brother, sister, or particular friend."

It is necessary in recommending the three following works to the attention of our readers, to forewarn them that they are not to expect, especially from Mr. Gaisford, any of that impressive eloquence or admirable arrangement with which this subject has heretofore been treated. Our tastes, indeed, may be fairly supposed to be a little fastidious, after the exquisite repasts which the speeches of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, have so liberally spread before us. But the earnestness, the pathos, and the christian tenderness of the latter gentleman, have raised him in the scale of true eloquence, as far above all his fellow-labourers in the glorious work, as the sound sense, sober argument, and convincing facts, detailed in his several compositions on the subject, have depressed into comparative insignificance the efforts of all his opponents.

We scarcely need apologize to our readers for this tribute of justice, which the occasion has extorted; and proceed to observe, that of all the works which ever fell under our observation, professing to be written in English, that of Mr. Gaisford is, in point of language, (to use one of his own expressions) the most "suffocating to common sense." Nothing but a strict sense of our duty to the public, and the obligation under which we conceive ourselves to lie, to wade through every thing that can throw the smallest light upon the subject, could have induced us to proceed beyond the 9th or 10th page. But independently of all considerations of duty, we are really glad that we did persevere, for under the disguise of a language such as we have sometimes been condemned to hear from a sentimental grocer in a stage coach, are to be found many sensible remarks, which bear with considerable force on the subject before us. Mr. Mathison's pamphlet is written in a plain and tolerably per-

spicuous style; and we think that he has received rather hard measure, in being classed with the enemies of the abolition. He states in a forcible manner the inconveniences which have arisen from the operation of the measure upon the vicious system actually pursued in the colonies. But he evidently does this, not to advocate a repeal of the abolition act, but to show its incompatibility with the further continuance of that vicious system of management; thereby the more strongly to enforce upon the minds of the planters, the absolute necessity of reforming it according to the suggestions which he offers to their notice. The "practical rules" by "a professional planter," are connected with a history somewhat curious, which we are enabled to detail from private sources of information.

In the early stage of the discussions upon the slave trade, a certain Mr. Collins published a clever but violent pamphlet against the advocates for the abolition. He soon after sailed to the West Indies, and established himself in one of the islands as a slave jobber, i. e. a person who keeps slaves to let out for hire, as stable keepers keep horses in this country. He appears to have been an honest man, and possessed of some humanity; and to have been clear-sighted enough to perceive that his interest as well as his duty were concerned, in paying the minutest attention to the bodily and mental welfare of his slaves. Under a well considered course of treatment, to which we shall presently advert, he amassed a fortune of 60 or 70,000*l.* by the labour of his slaves, who multiplied and thrived so well under his management, that he had scarcely occasion at all to resort to the Guinea Yard, (the Smithfield for human cattle in the West Indies) to supply any diminution in his gang. This of course completely inverted his original opinions as to the necessity of the slave trade; and upon his return to England, his feelings of humanity prompted him to do as much as could perhaps be reasonably expected from one who had previously distinguished himself in print, as a prominent opposer of the abolition. He published the *anonymous* work, the second edition of which is before us, about two years previous to the passing of the act for the abolition; and it was never known till his death who was its author. Its intrinsic merits, however, attracted some attention from professional planters, although we do not believe that it ever spread widely among the public in general.

From these three works of undoubted authority, we shall now take the liberty of laying before our readers certain considerations, due attention to which we cannot but think necessary effectually to secure the real abolition of the slave trade. For although we cannot for a moment suspect that the British

legislature could ever be brought so far to derogate from its own dignity, and to belie its own most solemn act, as to consent even to any relaxation of the abolition law, or at all to remunerate those whose negligence or inhumanity have made them sufferers by its operation;—yet when we consider the facilities which an extensive coast affords to smuggling, and the various evasions which a supposed pressing interest will prompt subtle men to attempt; we shall never feel perfectly easy till the general conduct of the planters has been so far reformed, as to afford them experimental conviction of the truth of Messrs. Gaisford's, Mathison's, and Collins's views of their true interests.

The object which we have in view is very simple. It is not to enter into any retrospective discussion, whether a gradual abolition, diminishing the numbers of imported negroes in proportion as they might be replaced by the rising generation bred in the country, might not have been a fairer and more effectual mode of ultimate abolition: or whether, seeing that the absolute privation of even one recruit from Africa has been insufficient to work a due reformation in the domestic policy of the planters, any thing short of so decisive a measure would have produced even the partial effects which have resulted. These are objects of discussion, which, now that the decision has been made, are become rather of a personal than of a public nature, and are therefore perhaps worse than useless. Our sole and entire object is to state the real evil, and point out the real remedy.

The real evil is, that a great and increasing depopulation has been taking place among the slave cultivators of the sugar colonies ever since the abolition.—In Jamaica alone, it is stated by Mr. Mathison, to have amounted in 1809 to 10,031, on a population of 323,714;—the same gentleman also states, that in the year 1810 no less than 87,470 acres of land in Jamaica had been forfeited or abandoned by individuals, to escape the payment of land-tax, although it is no more than threepence per acre. We cannot help suspecting, however, that the greater part of these consists of mountainous and unwrought land, formerly belonging to the Maroons, and bought by auction at a very low rate, merely upon speculation. But the fact is a convincing proof, that scarcely a step has yet been taken in the right career; for these lands being peculiarly fitted for the purpose of raising provisions and timber, and constituting one of the most healthy and delightful regions in the world, it is here particularly that a thriving population might be raised, while the colonies would at the same time render themselves independent of their rivals or enemies for lumber and necessary food.

These difficulties and deficiencies constitute the *real evil*, and

the *alleged cause* is the abolition of the slave trade. But let us see what our three practical planters say upon this subject. Mr. Mathison, who has been accused of enmity to the abolition, states that,

"The immediate effect of the abolition has been to deprive every man of the power of committing abuses: while the more gradual effect of the previous discussions has been to introduce a system of great comparative mildness in the treatment of the old established negroes.

"The abolition law, by stopping the usual merit for labourers, has created the necessity of attention to the duty of keeping up the stock of negroes by breeding, which had never hitherto been sufficiently attended to. Under the old system it was a cheaper plan to buy, and one attended with quicker returns, than to breed labourers. Avarice is now in fetters; for there is no longer any alternative than that of attention to the system of breeding, or total ruin. The effect arising from this necessity is very striking. The care of negroes, the causes of increase and decrease, &c. &c. are becoming the subject of common conversation among a description of persons, who used only to think of the speediest methods of obtaining labourers. The preservation of lives is become a most imperative duty; and overseers are already beginning to discover that there is a degree of merit to be obtained in the management of a plantation, beyond the ordinary routine of making large crops of rum and sugar; but the progress of this discovery is *slow and very partial*, and by no means does (nor can be expected to) *keep pace with the pressing necessity of an immediate revolution* in the system of the planter." (Notices, p. 12.)

Upon this last ground Mr. Mathison hints at something like a claim of the planters for remuneration from parliament. But such a claim, to be just, ought to be founded upon an injury received from those, against whom such claim is preferred; and since the discussions for twelve years previous to the abolition must have opened the eyes of the planters both to the political necessity under which they would labour, and to the moral enormity of their actual system of management, we cannot but cordially agree with Mr. Gaisford, who asserts, (p. 32.) "that surely the colonists cannot in future seek redress for this measure, unless they can shew that they have exerted every effort, calculated to meet its exigencies." It is most obviously true, that remuneration afforded without rigidly insisting upon such proof, would be nothing less than a profligate encouragement to vice, and a premium in favour of obstinate resistance to the plain and promulgated dictates of policy and morality. This may possibly appear a harsh and unbending doctrine: but on such occasions as the present, great public principles are not to give way to private commiseration. Mr.

Mathison observes that, "pure humanity actuates many persons;—humanity, united to a belief that our true interests are best promoted by a faithful discharge of the moral duties of life, influences many more; but that it is '*self love, bare self love,*' that actuates the mass of mankind in the West Indies as elsewhere." We would ask him, therefore, what encouragement there would be to the humane and honest planter, were those, who against warning and conviction had injured their interests by stupid and vicious indulgencies, to be raised by public profusion to a level with the more virtuous of their class.

This part of the subject, therefore, rests upon the same grounds as the true causes of the depopulation of the plantations, and we proceed without delay to investigate them under several heads from the works before us, subjoining to each the remedy which would be effectual for its cure.

The first of those causes appears to be severity to pregnant women, and total neglect, not to say barbarous treatment, of their infant offspring.

There are few if any plantations where separate apartments are provided for lying-in women. The office of midwife is usually left to the oldest, most decrepit, and useless African female on the plantation; as a proof of whose skill and humanity it is only necessary to observe, that it is their practice to confine the infant in the same clothes, without change for the first nine days, during which time its fate is usually decided. (Mathison, p. 29.) But, as Mr. Collins admits, it was always considered, upon calculation by the planters, to be a cheaper plan "to buy new negroes, than to wait their tardy generation through all the stages of pregnancy;" it was frequently so determined upon the question being agitated in companies where he was present, and the practice regulated by that conviction. (P. 131.) He gently insinuates a hope that they have not merited the reproach of having used their endeavours to *prevent the* increase of their slaves by breeding, although it is admitted that the females are very prone to take measures for procuring abortion; to which they cannot be impelled by shame, because where promiscuous intercourse is common, and matrimony nearly unknown, fortuitous pregnancy is no disgrace; nor can their motive arise from the general inconveniences of gestation, because under a humane system of management, the necessary cessation from severe labour must more than counterbalance them; it can have arisen therefore from nothing but a system of conduct deliberately adopted, with a view to check the population by destroying the offspring; from overworking the pregnant women, and forcing them "to carry heavy loads down steep and slip-

pery hills," which leads to early miscarriages, or to a nine months state of misery and torment.

In certain dreadful enormities which were perpetrated in Nevis, and openly protected by a colonial assembly, a female sufferer cried out during her whipping that *she was with child*, but her punishment went on. It was not stated whether she was the woman who died in consequence of the laceration inflicted. But the following quotation from Mr. Gaistford (*himself a planter*) is we think conclusive. (P. 172.) "The present manner (A. D. 1811) of punishing both male and female slaves, is to order them prone upon the earth with their *breech bared*, and in cases where particular severity is intended, their hands bound, and legs extended are fastened to pegs stuck into the ground; so that nothing but a tortuous writhing to and fro of the victim's body be admitted, under the scourges of a whip of a *thong rope and handle*, between two and three yards in length, the sound of which blows in a plain or extended valley, often invades an unlistening ear at a distance of more than a quarter of a mile*."

"To a labouring slave," says Mr. Collins, "the evil admits of no indulgencies of any kind. During the first months of gestation her stomach is harassed with sickness, and in the latter stages of it, the weight and pressure of the child disables her from moving without uneasiness and difficulty. Upheld by no consolation, animated by no hope, her nine months of torment issue in the production of a being doomed like herself to the rigours of eternal servitude, and aggravating by its claims on maternal support the weight of her own evils." (P. 135.) Under such treatment of the mother and the babe, it is not surprising that the infant, should it by a miracle survive the first few days, is exposed to an endless variety of fatal disorders. Of these the tetanus, or locked jaw, seems to be the most destructive, killing a large proportion of the infant negroes. Mr. Mathison asserts, that where proper attention is paid to the cleanliness of the children, as it was on his plantation, this evil altogether disappears; and Mr. Collins, by a similar process, had not more than four or five cases in an experience of thirty years on his plantation. Can there possibly exist a more conclusive proof than these authentic facts afford, at once of the

* We wish here to remark, that there are many ladies and gentlemen in the West Indies, planters as well as others, who treat their slaves with great kindness and humanity; but while any can practise with impunity, nay with encouragement, such abominations as these, the character of the society must, and ought to be taken from the actions of persons less conspicuous for principle and humanity, which we fear constitute the majority of the residents.

criminal negligence of most of the planters and overseers, and of the facility with which a very slight attention would have obviated its effects. And let it be remembered, that this single cause of depopulation extends to one-fourth of the infants born on many sugar plantations.

Then if the infant struggles through this complaint in the first stages of life, and the measles, small-pox, and other disorders that attack it in more advanced childhood, its corporeal state is generally neglected by its master, and cannot of course be much attended to by its parents. The father is very probably unknown, and the mother more intent on the further gratification of her passion than on the cares of a family, in which she has no helpmate. The consequence is, that the child is left neglected on the floor of a cabin, or in the corner of a field; is suffered to grow a distorted or deformed being; and if ever it attains strength to run alone, frequently meets a fatal end, by the numerous external accidents to which neglected children are always exposed. Again, if the peculiar providence which watches over the heedless steps of children should raise them up to puberty, there remain insuperable bars to their fulfilling the designs of Providence either in their moral or political capacities. Being suffered to grow up in disgraceful ignorance, uninstructed in the duties, the relations, and the charities of life, they are not raised above the level of their fathers in the scale of morality; and an early indulgence in promiscuous intercourse prevents the development of their prolific power. Nay, it may be added that the poor children are fortunate if they receive nothing worse during their infancy and childhood than the negative injury of neglect. The privy council reports exhibit cases of atrocious and positive cruelty towards them; of gagging, flaying, and torturing little boys and girls of six and eight years of age; and even state one case (that of Mr. Wm. Herbert of St. Kitts), where a savage master was suddenly erected into a *suffering patriot*, because he was prosecuted by the governor for repeated and disgusting cruelties to children of the above mentioned age. His fellow slave-masters were highly indignant at this interference with the unlimited control over *their property*. After this picture of the general spirit which prevails, it is almost superfluous to add, that we fear there is scarcely a solitary instance where schools for the moral and religious instruction of the infant slaves are established in the islands. Nor can any thing afford a more true or disgusting idea of the degree in which absolute power over ones fellow men seals up the avenues to the heart, nor can any thing appear more unaccountable to a person conversant only with the polity and charities of England, than that a

large body of rich individuals should *almost universally* bring their minds to bear the daily contemplation of a crowd of innocent children, entirely dependent upon them for the welfare of their souls; and that they should by a deliberate and silent sentence of condemnation, in which their own interests are involved, inflict upon them the forfeiture of every hope.

It is very far from difficult for a plain understanding under the influence of honest feelings, to point out and apply the remedy of these evils. But we are aware that the aversion of the planters to any reform would immediately dismiss such recommendations from us with the easy and comprehensive evasion;—that it is more easy for an English philanthropist to point out *theoretic* improvements, than for a West Indian planter to execute them. It is therefore an invaluable privilege, that we can refer the sceptical to the stubborn facts detailed by the “professional planter,” Mr. Collins, who undertook the system with decided prejudices against the probability of its success, but was at length convinced of its soundness by the most forcible of all arguments;—the gradual, but not tardy accumulation of many thousands of pounds. His splendid fortune was amassed by strict attention to the following humane and enlightened inversion of all the established practices.

But before we enter into the detail given in the following pages, we must forewarn our readers that it is of a very plain and simple nature, such as in any other case we should scarcely have ventured to submit to their perusal. But on a subject of such vital importance as that before us, we are resolved rather to incur the charge of tediousness than to omit one single fact, however minute, that rests on the undisputed authority and actual experience of a professional planter. This must be our apology for the following simple narrative, if there be any who do not find one yet more ample in the feelings of their own hearts.

During the whole period of pregnancy, Mr. Collins’s female slaves were treated with indulgencies in proportion to their advancement in that state, and were only obliged to do that moderate portion of work, which contributed to their health and to the cheerfulness of their minds. A house properly appointed, with all conveniences for the purpose, was set apart for them, and medical assistance regularly provided. Strict attention was paid to the cleanliness of the children when born, a nursery provided for their reception, to which the mothers were admitted at stated hours to afford their children nourishment from the breast, and they were allowed, if they chose, to take them home at night. When the mother regained strength enough to resume

her work, short remissions in the course of the day were allowed her to visit and suckle her child; and a permanent indulgence by way of reward was allowed to every woman who had brought up a child to the period of weaning. For the second child she was allowed an extra day of repose every fortnight; for the third one day in each week, and so on progressively for each additional child;—the exemptions continuing no longer than the life of each child respectively. And whenever any of the women had produced six children, that lived to that effective but tender age at which they begin to apply themselves to the gentle work of the grass gang, the mother was for ever after exempted from all field labour, which is nearly equivalent to freedom. An extra allowance of food was given to the mother for each child, as soon as it was weaned;—and the superintendants of the nursery received a reward for every healthy child sent out of it in a state to join the grass gang. Mr. Collins sums up the result of his practice and experience on these points in the following words.

“The motives for attending to the rearing of Creoles are numerous and urgent; but I content myself with those derived from principles of œconomy; for while they are in their infancy, the expence bestowed upon them passes off so insensibly as not to be felt. Your *gang is thus recruited* without sensible disbursements. It does not require more than five or six years before they are capable of labour; little indeed at that tender age, yet sufficient to defray the expences of their own support. In their adult age they become invaluable, as it is from that class of negroes that you generally draw your domestics, drivers, boilers, and tradesmen of every description; and it is upon them that you must principally depend for the work of your plantation. But for a moment lay interest aside, and ascend to a higher motive. Contemplate a creation to which your cares have been instrumental! Does opulence possess any delight comparable to it? (P. 149.)

We heartily wish that we could compliment Mr. Collins on his ascent to a still higher motive, and that attention to the moral and religious instruction of these creatures of his cares had in his case given to opulence delights more than “*comparable*” to that of merely contemplating the healthy expansion of their frames, and not a little necessary also to the completion of his object as to population, since it would necessarily have led them into the regular and prolific system of marriage.

But providentially Mr. Gaisford here steps in to our assistance, and gives the award of his practical judgment in favour of a measure which the right reverend author of the last work, at the head of this article, *in vain* pressed with what one would

have thought irresistible eloquence on the interests and consciences of the planters. Mr. Gaisford, in language such as totally precludes us from venturing upon a quotation; earnestly insists upon the advantages that would result from the establishment of schools on Dr. Bell's, or the Madras system, in the several plantations.

"If," says also the venerable Bishop Porteus, (p. 11.) "you should be of opinion, that the religious education of your young negroes is essentially necessary to restrain them from the most fatal excesses in the indulgence of their sensual appetites, and that such restraint is equally necessary to keep up a constant supply of homeborn slaves for the cultivation of your lands; you will perceive that these important purposes can in no other way be so easily, so effectually, and so expeditiously obtained, as by the adoption of the schools here proposed." Upon these authorities we should not hesitate to act, and fortified by them we must presume to make an appeal to the zeal of a society to which, as humble individuals, we certainly have not been backward in rendering our feeble support. We would say to the NATIONAL SOCIETY, that the West India islands are unbroken ground, that the sectarian cultivators have scarcely yet made a furrow on the barren field of the infant mind in those regions; that one of the leading members of the society exercises ecclesiastical superintendence over them*; and that at this moment the minds and interests of the planters may probably be so disposed, as to afford the fair prospect of an abundant harvest in return for any zealous exertions that may be made. That the opportunity, if neglected by the church, will be seized by the dissenters with avidity, we think there is no doubt: and we confess that here at least where the field lies open, we should be glad to see the church take the lead. Lest this should be stigmatized *as cant*, we will place our recommendation of religious instruction upon the mere foundation of interest and policy. We do not fear to maintain that, as nothing will tend more rapidly to humanize the mind, so nothing will more directly contribute to the conservation and increase of the negroes, than the impressions of a religious education. It is from this source alone that they can be thoroughly taught the duties which they owe to each other. This is the fountain from which alone can be derived those sentiments and sympathies, and that inestimable class of humane offices, without the observance of which among themselves, the species must continue to droop and decay in spite, perhaps, of

* The Bishop of London, who is ex officio prelate of those colonies

every mere physical exertion on the part of the planters to cultivate the breed, and improve the mere faculty of propagation.

The next cause of depopulation to which our attention is led by the works before us, is excessive labour and severity of punishment. The cane-land of the colonies is in most cases of a strong tenacious quality, and "its surface in dry weather acquires the hardness of a brick." (Mathison, p. 37.) The labour of turning up such land with the hoe is excessive, even to negroes of a robust constitution, and to those of a weaker frame not fully *seasoned*, or to females, is altogether annihilating. In crop time, the slave is also forced to work every other night, or one night in three, according to the proportion of slaves on a plantation. And during this period, which often lasts six months, when every description of negroes is promiscuously pressed into the service, Mr. Mathison admits, "that the elderly and weakly shrink from such fatigues, and it must be confessed do suffer most cruelly during a long protracted crop under the pressure of these heavy duties." (P. 36) Nevertheless, it is perfectly notorious that these human beings are driven along by the negro-driver with a cattle whip; who, without the least attention to the difference of age and strength, extorts from their failing and trembling limbs the last dregs of power, and who being himself responsible to an overseer, whose *sole object* is to increase the immediate produce of the estate, is obliged to smother the first emotions of pity, till at length he is hardened into the belief, that the creatures under his lash are machines whose power depends upon the impulse imparted by this *primum mobile*. This is the practice in the field.—In crop time the labours of the boiling house are superadded, which Mr. Collins states to be the most unhealthy on which a negro can be employed, generally producing dropsical complaints, and the total prostration of strength. He adds, however, that the unrestrained access to hot liquor and sugar afforded by this situation makes it generally coveted by the negroes. But we have heard from other quarters, that it is no uncommon sight to see those who are condemned to it *chained* to the boiler, lest the excessive heat should tempt them to hazard a cruel punishment for a few brief moments of remission. There are other labours which we cannot now stop to particularize.

The remedies proposed by Mr. Collins for these evils are short and simple, and we are rejoiced to see them in the work of so *practical* a writer, as we confess that their obviousness and the apparent facility of their execution are such, that we never could have accounted for their not being generally adopted, except by concluding, that from some strange peculiarity in the

West Indian system of tillage, they were actually inadmissible. But Mr. Collins's experience has happily proved, that there is no such difficulty in the way. His plan is simply to divide his negroes into gangs according to their strength, assigning to each its appropriate office; to afford them food and rest enough always to keep them in a condition to put forth their average strength; to shorten the field labour by introducing the plough wherever it may supersede the hoe, and when that cannot be done, to keep their hoes sharp and in good order; to give the negroes clothing to put on in the intervals of hard labour, thereby to prevent sudden checks of perspiration; and by the regular and proportionate distribution of work, to give them encouragement to perform their tasks effectually, cheerfully, and expeditiously. His system, in short, is that of stimulating by rewards rather than that of terrifying by punishment:—and this he found effectual upon experiment.

With respect to the general system of punishment by the cattle whip, Mr. Collins confirms all that other writers have advanced concerning its wanton and partial use by the overseer's subdespot the cattle driver. He recommends its total banishment from the field, as he understands to have been the case in some estates in Barbadoes; and the substitution of a system of discipline, which presupposing humane management as to ordinary labour, would be perfectly effectual towards securing the fair exertion of the slave. It is, to punish rather by additional tasks of labour out of working hours, than by corporal correction; and when the sense of shame and regard to character shall have grown up from the absence of stripes wantonly inflicted, we think that a few disgraceful stigmas in addition to the above-mentioned punishments would be sufficient to uphold the discipline of an estate without recurrence to the whip, except on very rare and atrocious occasions.

We forbear to mention "other instruments of torture, such as heavy chains, puddings, and crooks," being willing to hope with Mr. Collins, that though "introduced in the less civilized days of our ancestors, and retained too long in ours by prescription, they are now seldom employed." (P. 180.)

We trust NEVER!! Neither shall we rake into the Reports before the privy council, to discover whether cutting off negroes' ears, or otherwise maiming them, have been used with impunity as modes of correction. We have detailed sufficient for our present purpose, enough we hope to show that the system of labour and correction just recommended is as much the interest as the duty of the planter;—that it will, on the whole, give him a larger portion of labour for his money, tend to the multipli-

cation of his stock, and to their effectiveness for labour. We do not hesitate therefore to give our opinion, that it should be established by law, to the extent in which laws can reach it.

The third and last cause of depopulation which we shall notice is a scarcity of the means of subsistence, arising partly from inhuman and injudicious laws and customs, and partly from a neglect of cultivating the high and cooler regions of the islands. They seem to be admirably adapted for the purpose of raising those provisions, which, being now drawn from foreign countries, are frequently scarce, and always dear. Mr. Mathison (p. 30,) states, that as soon as a negro is established on a plantation, he is furnished with a lot of land, and after a certain interval, is expected to subsist his family and himself by his own exertions. The inadequacy of this provision, where the slave is often completely worn down in the service of his master, as stated under the last head, and consequently rendered incapable of extra exertion on his own lot, is sufficiently obvious. Nevertheless, the negro is not allowed to expect, nor does he in fact obtain, assistance from the stores of the plantation. Mr. Mathison states it *broadly* that such is the general practice; and he very justly observes, that under such a rigid system the lives of these people must from the nature of things be exposed to a thousand hazards. And even if the planter should be disposed to relieve their necessities, he has nowhere to resort, but to a market, that at the best is but imperfectly supplied, and almost entirely dependent for grain of all descriptions, as well as for many other articles of food, upon a precarious intercourse with the United States. There is indeed a law in Jamaica, that for every ten negroes on a plantation, one acre shall be planted in ground provisions, and kept in good order. But this law, like all those which the planters find it inconvenient or disagreeable to execute, is universally disregarded, and is now little better than waste paper. (Mathison, p. 32.) When we add to these circumstances that famine sometimes arises from excessive drought, and that in June, July, and August, when provisions are planted, but not sufficiently matured to be gathered in, there is often a general scarcity, and that the poor negroes can have no assistance from the plantation stores,—we cannot entertain a doubt, but that famine is one prevailing cause of the decrease of the slaves, which, joined to the other causes we have stated, must be more than sufficient (one would think), to produce the prodigal waste of life which has hitherto taken place in the islands.

We have already suggested a remedy for this evil, which would go far to cure all the other disorders of the colonial system; viz. the cultivation of the high and mild regions of the

country by independent proprietors. The residence of the French proprietors in the colonies before the revolution, which, as Mr. Gaisford justly observes, arose from the little allurements which the form of government in the mother country offered for a residence at home, diffused a comparative superiority in happiness, population, resources, and refinement throughout the French islands, notwithstanding the various disadvantages under which they laboured, and from which the English colonies were exempt. Nature never formed more delightful spots for residences than the situations to which we point. Every climate from the torrid to the frigid zone is to be found in its proportionate elevation; and the vine, the olive, the apple, the pear, the bread fruit-tree, fowls and cattle of all descriptions, every thing in short which the vegetable and animal kingdoms can offer to the enjoyment of man, may be produced in abundance. The fee-simple of the land is to be had for a trifle, and the expenditure of capital is only necessary to clear and bring it under cultivation.

It is to these spots that the proprietors of the sugar plantations, (whose presence is positively required on their properties to superintend the necessary reforms, by the stern alternative of absolute ruin,) should transfer their residence. It is here that they should attract around them by indulgence and gratuities a population of free settlers, who would labour on their estates, and who would transmit a numerous and healthy progeny to their successors. It is no longer a matter of conscience only, but of urgent and positive self-interest; and the West Indians, after a long, much too long an interval, are at length placed by the abolition act upon a par with other subjects of the British empire, in this respect, that the success of their enterprizes must in some degree correspond with the fairness, the humanity, and the wisdom of their measures. The legislature has delivered its fiat in plain terms, that the practice or the toleration of cruelty, dishonesty, vice, immorality, profaneness, sensuality, and brutal indulgence, shall no longer be compatible with the successful conduct of their worldly affairs. And it is as much in vain to suppose that the opposite conduct will not at length lead to the general abolition of slavery, and to the cheaper and more effectual cultivation of the colonies by free labourers; as to suppose that virtue and patriotism will not produce justice and happiness, and that independent poverty under just and equal laws will not produce industry, sobriety, and diligence. Upon this subject we cannot avoid offering to the consideration of West Indian proprietors the following passage (corrected) from Mr. Gaisford, which we the

more readily insert as it is written in his *best*, that is in his plainest style (albeit not very plain either in the original); and it *really conveys to the mind something like the impression with which we would willingly close this head of inquiry.*

“ The pleasantest views of the œconomy of a West Indian estate I ever witnessed, were during a visit I paid to the opulent and honourable John Harvey. The regular mountainous ascent, and continued parallel elevations, angles, and declivities of an extended adjacent valley, had given the name of *Morne Fendû*, or *Cleft Hill*, to the estate where this gentleman resided. His tropical mansion, like many others in this country, was built in London: there was to be seen before it no leprous negro waiting for a medicinal nostrum to apply to his eruptions and sores; nor a troop of half-starved slaves come to receive their pittance of fish and flour, from a grumbling plantation deputy of some insolvent proprietor. The estate was well officered, in the constant residence of medical and other men, and the cares and wants of the enslaved largely and sedulously provided for. An extended lawn, of more than a furlong spread before the mansion a soft and weedless pasture. It was in the middle of this delightful spot that a distant prospect of the ocean opened, but near enough for a good eye to discern the whitened extremity of the spent wave rolling back to the deep, and the sea coiling up its waters to exhaust them again upon the sands; and where an unseeded clod was scarcely perceivable in the vegetative creation around, a neat and simply constructed shed, its walls made of bamboos conjoined and interwoven by the smaller twigs and branches, was set apart as a seminary for the young children of some neighbouring gentlemen and principal people of these estates, rescued thus by the generous feelings of the respectable proprietor, from a state of moral neglect not uncommon in this country to people of colour, even when allied to respectable circumstances.” (P. 185.)

It is delightful to be able to bring this scene into contrast with the recorded horrors of the lowland plantations! Would that there were many such to be found! We are aware, however, that objections may be raised to this complete state of colonization, on the ground that it might tend to weaken the tie of the colonists to the mother country, and diminish her revenue, by confining their wishes and objects within the circle of their own coasts, thus depriving England of the advantage of the capital annually remitted and expended at home. With respect to the last objection, it is sufficient to observe, that the West India islands could scarcely become manufacturing nations, and that all the objects of luxury and convenience which rich proprietors would purchase, must be exported from England for their use; a circumstance of which the revenue and the manufacturing interest at home would profit as much as if the purchasers resided

here, while the shipping interest would acquire a clear addition to their profits. With respect to the former objection, *it should be recollected that no analogy can be drawn from a great continent to a small island;—that independence can scarcely be established in this by mere resistance of the natives; and that it is perfectly evident that the West Indies must always be an appendage to that nation which commands the ocean. The nation, which can secure their exports and protect their coasts, must always possess their allegiance and affection! Common sense, and mutual benefits, are strong ties;—but the secure possession and profitable enjoyment of property are much stronger: and whether England and the whites, the Emperor of Hayti and the blacks, or America and the creoles, shall ultimately rule over the narrow American seas;—the territorial sovereignty of the islands must as inevitably follow, as the regulation of their commerce must attend upon those who command the avenues of intercourse with the European states.*

A word or two more in conclusion, on a topic to which we have already slightly adverted. We are well aware that in the colonies as well as at home, there is an ill-eyed magic in the word religion, that at once converts the dictates of common sense, solid argument, palpable facts, even the actual evidence of sight itself, into enthusiasm, cant, and imposture. But on this occasion the colonial legislatures have greatly outrun that of the mother country. For they have descended to the shifts of duplicity and hypocrisy, and have thereby rendered a tribute to the justice of the system, and have precluded themselves from a decent objection to the steps necessary for realising their pretended views.

“The sixth clause of the consolidated slave act of Jamaica is as follows. ‘And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, managers and overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion; and shall do their utmost endeavour to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently can be, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a duty to God and the christian faith, which ceremony the *clergymen of the respective parishes are to perform gratis.*’ This clause has been copied by the legislatures of other West India islands, and inserted into their respective slave acts. The guardian act of Grenada has this addition to the clause, that ‘the *clergymen shall attend slaves in their sickness when their spiritual aid shall be required.*’” (Gaisford, p. 56.)

After citing this clause, Mr. Gaisford proceeds roundly to

accuse the legislatures, which are *exclusively composed of slave masters*, of holding out a false show of moral consideration for their slaves, for the purpose of deceiving the government of the mother country, where all colonial legislative acts are previously submitted to his majesty and the privy council. And we must candidly admit that he makes good the accusation.

"For I would here," he indignantly exclaims, "with earnestness ask any impartial individual, who has been in the West Indies, can there be any thing *more suffocating* to common sense than this clause is, compared with the practical usage manifested by the British planters towards their slaves. Put the Bible, said a colonist, into the hands of our slaves, or enable them to read it, and 'these hewers of wood and drawers of water' will soon be told that the labourer is worthy of his hire." (P: 57.)

Neither have these Solons preserved more consistency in their legislative than in their individual capacities, as we shall presently see; but we must first present our readers with the following quotation from Mr. Collins.

"The efforts (of a few churchmen to convert the negroes) were neither very general nor long persisted in; being commenced without experience, perhaps with a zeal too languid for the end proposed, being accompanied with the ridicule of others who neither hoped nor wished their negroes to be better christians than themselves, and not followed with the immediate effect which impatience expected, the attempt was abandoned under the persuasion that *negroes* were beyond the possibility of a reform. Further experience, however, has proved that this judgment was erroneous; for new attempts of the same nature have been made with better success by those who were more competent to the undertaking;—I mean the Methodists and Moravians.

"These missionaries, in many instances themselves but little elevated above the meanest class in society, supplying by the energies of zeal the defects of education, have found means to attract to their lectures very numerous congregations in many of the islands, among whom are to be found some proselytes, imbued with a true spirit of christianity, so far as the penury of their faculties enables them to comprehend its dogmas. The greatest proof of this is exhibited in the regularity of their lives, their respect for their pastors, and their pecuniary contributions for their services; for religion surely must have made some progress in the 'minds of men, who part voluntarily with their scanty stores, whilst we find so many in this and other countries who elude by every art of chicane the payment of legal ecclesiastical dues.'" (Practical Rules, p. 187.)

The missionaries certainly found out the way to procure the cheerful and ready payment of ecclesiastical dues. The Moravians had under their care in 1807, converted brethren as follows.

In Antigua, exactly	5465
In St. Kitt's (a new mission)	80
In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about	100
In St. Thomas and St. Croix	10,000
In Surinam, about	400

In the committee of the Privy Council, p. 3, detached pieces, no. 2, two respectable planters gave evidence to the following effect. Mr. Entwistle stated that after a residence in the West Indies of more than thirty years, and having had the care and direction of more than 2000 negroes for full twenty years of that time, he is enabled to bear the most unequivocal testimony to the moral amendment introduced among the slaves by the example and exertions of the teachers and missionaries; their general conduct and outward behaviour underwent the same improvement. Mr. Gordon expressed his perfect coincidence in the opinion of Mr. Entwistle.

Now let us see what measures the colonial legislatures, who pretended to be so anxious for the conversion of their negroes, have taken under these circumstances of zeal and success by the missionaries. It appears by the colonial statutes that they have absolutely enacted severe and persecuting laws against them. They have placed the preaching of christianity to those benighted and miserable heathens on the same scale of crime and punishment, with picking pockets or any other felonies within benefit of clergy. The legislature of Jamaica has thought it reasonable to punish a first offence against their persecuting laws with a month's imprisonment and hard labour in the common workhouse, (a place where slaves deemed refractory are sent to be worked *if possible* harder than on their master's plantation;) and for a second offence the same pains are enjoined for *six months at least*, or such further punishment *short of death* as the courts might adjudge. In order to suppress the tremendous sin of preaching the Gospel to negroes, these punishments are left to the discretion of any justice of peace, with two associated justices of his own choice, (all slave masters recollect), and to be adjudged by them on a summary conviction, without trial by jury.

These are the penalties enacted against what are termed "ill disposed, illiterate, and ignorant, enthusiasts," that is to say, persons so deemed by the aforesaid justices; and that they are not very discriminating on these subjects, the actual persecution of Mr. Campbell, a person duly qualified as a dissenting teacher at the quarter-sessions in England, together with other persecutions, as of Mr. Lumb in St. Vincent's, Mr. Fish, &c. all on re-

cord, have sufficiently proved. That private malice and outrage would not be dormant under such a public system was to be expected. And we accordingly find from Mr. Collins, who says the anecdote came to him from respectable authority, that in one of the towns of a sugar island, "where the white inhabitants are without a church or any place of regular worship, and have been so for the last twenty years, the missionaries built a decent chapel with the assistance of their well frequented black congregations. One day during the divine service therein, a party of persons, mostly military, made a gallant attack upon the audience, and after dislodging the minister from the pulpit, proceeded to other acts of outrage too scandalous to be detailed." (P. 189.)

In many countries this might well be considered as merely a drunken (though a very disgraceful) frolic; but it is evidently part of a regular system in the West Indies, in which the interest of the sensual appetite, as well as the objects of avarice are secretly implicated.

That these epithets do not contain a gratuitous accusation, appears from Mr. Gaisford, (p. 150.) who states, that the laxity of morals inseparable from a construction of society, where the virtue of one part of the community is the absolute property of the passions of the other, has multiplied illicit connections between the Europeans and Creole women, to an extent that has made each island one scene of shameless prostitution. And if we may believe the writers who have visited the West Indies, the warm temperament and constitutional attractions of those women are such as to enlist the sensual passions of the vulgar and ignorant youths, who are often sent out as overseers, very strongly against any reform that would be a bar to the facilities of seduction.

It is singular, and not a little disgraceful to us, that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, much more attention was paid to the protection and instruction of their slaves, and much greater facilities afforded them of obtaining their freedom. Unfortunately the difference has always been found greatly to the disadvantage of the negro whose master enjoys the largest share of civil and political liberty. It is certain that the Code Noir of the French, and the laws of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, are as much milder than ours, as the constitutions of the mother countries are decidedly the reverse. Their slaves also are well instructed in religion. But then they are fed, clothed, and governed, with liberality and kindness. Christianity then, as we see by their experience, may at least be safely admitted as an inmate in West Indian settlements, since

those of Spain and Portugal were tranquil to a proverb, and free from internal commotions. It is also a welcome guest among masters, when their slaves are treated with humanity. But where the case is grossly otherwise, as in our islands, it is eagerly caught at indeed by the slave, but neglected, if not detested, by the master. The conclusion may easily be drawn, and attests the sublime efficacy of the christian religion.

We have at length completed the task of laying before our country what appears to us to be the true state of one of the most important moral and political questions, that ever was submitted to their decision; and if we have at all succeeded in convincing them, that the West Indies possess no exclusive patent for reconciling the prostitution of every divine and moral law, with the prosperous conduct of affairs; that there is no magic in a passage across the Atlantic, which can give to the base alloy of vice the currency of virtue, or the glow of humanity to sensual and sordid ferocity;—we trust that they will manfully act up to the conclusions that inevitably result from the premises.

We urgently press upon their attention, that the planters, who, in the face of a fair notice, have reduced themselves to difficulties by an obstinate perseverance in a reprobated system, have no claim either in justice or expediency to any remuneration or indemnity, much less to such a disgraceful sacrifice of consistency and morality, as would be implied in any relaxation of the abolition act. They should be referred with firmness to those expedients, which they ought to have adopted long ago, and which alone can render their welfare compatible with their duty. Even then, enough is left in their detestable polity, to excite the horror and indignation of every man of British habits and sentiments. We wish with all our hearts it were felt as a hardship by the small body of proprietors in these colonies, to be condemned to the diabolical distinction of subsisting upon the blood, the stripes, the misery, both mental and corporeal, of thousands of their fellow-men? of *subsisting* did we say? The event has shown, that in this as in all other cases, the counteraction of the ways of Providence will ever bring its own punishment. Vice has an irresistible tendency to ruin itself in its own excesses.

We will boldly, therefore, declare our conviction, that the abolition of the slave trade is but the commencement of the career of justice and sound policy; that it has done enough to make a continuance in the old system impossible, but not enough to establish the new one upon a solid foundation. It is in the gradual, but not very tardy, abolition of slavery itself, that the

glorious work must be completed, and the prosperity of the colonies laid upon such a basis, as Providence may deign to approve and to protect. We wish that space was left to prove, that the independence claimed by the colonial legislatures on these important subjects, cannot be supported against the legislature of that country which affords protection to its colony. But these may be left to future opportunities. Meantime, we are grateful to God, that by the instrumentality of the enlightened and patriotic assertors of the rights of humanity, our eyes are at length opened; that a mitigated slavery is even now produced, and that it is at length received as an undisputed political axiom, that, *in theory* at least, negroes are distinguished from brutes by the possession of a reasonable soul; and from barn-floors by nerves of sensibility;—that a man can no longer with *perfect safety* murder his slave for fifteen pounds in Barbadoes, or “maim, deface, violate, or cruelly torture,” a creole or negro in Dominica, or elsewhere, for fifty-seven pounds two shillings and tenpence farthing.

ART. IV. *Itineraire de Paris à Jerusalem et de Jerusalem à Paris; en allant par la Grèce, et revenant par L’Egypte, La Barbaire et L’Espagne.* Par F. A. de Chateaubriand. 3 tomes. Oct. Paris, Le Normant, 1811. Translated for Colburn, Conduit Street, in two vols. octavo.

THE author of this work is well known in the annals of modern French literature, and has the singular merit of standing, amidst the moral desolation of his country, the faithful advocate of religious feelings and principles, to the extent of the light which he has received. His popular works *Les Martyrs*, and *Le Genie du Christianisme*, entitle him to this praise; and his beautiful romance of *Atala*, descriptive of the scenery of the Mississippi, which he personally explored in his youth, although written in prose, has unequivocally placed him high in the rank of poetical excellence. We cannot but think that he has decidedly surpassed both Florian and Gesner in this species of composition. The talent of writing poetical prose is not, however, very safe, particularly in the hands of a Frenchman. The bounds of propriety and of truth are too often overstepped, not to induce something like a habit of exaggeration, if not of bombast; and when a person so imbued undertakes to write travels, we generally find them deficient in that simplicity of statement

and internal evidence of truth, which carry the reader's imagination from the chair on which he is reclining, through the varied accidents to which the writer has been exposed.

We remember being struck, on the perusal of *Atala*, with an image, where the impetuosity of the author hurried him into an assertion directly contrary to the first principles of philosophy. In gliding between the beautiful banks of the Mississippi, the gorges of the valleys, which rolled their tributary streams to that enormous river, successively opened to his view, and displayed scenes more enchanting than the most vivid fancy could pourtray. The utmost luxuriance of vegetation, in all the variety of fruits and flowers "in ever mingling dyes," enlivened by the sports of animated nature, the warbling of birds, interrupted only by the roar of the beasts of the forest,—communicated to the breast of our traveller such a tincture of enthusiasm, that he actually beheld the bears disporting among the clustered grapes, *drunk with their unfermented juice*. We must not therefore be surprised, if a passage over the classic ruins of Sparta, of Argos, and of Athens, shall be found to have communicated to the work before us a spark of that enthusiasm which is wont to be lighted up by a recital of the events of their better days; but which is extremely injurious to a simple statement of the little that could be observed in a rapid passage over their desolated scenes.

To enrich his mind with images appropriate to his romance on the Martyrs of Christianity, Mr. de Chateaubriand undertook this journey, and the work before us consists of the sweepings of his commonplace book, after the ideas necessary for his principal work had been extracted. He modestly observes, that it scarcely deserves the title of a journey, as his opportunities of investigating the *people* through whose countries he passed were very limited. His plan seems to have been, to gallop from town to town, and to collect during his stay at each as much matter as the conversation of his countrymen could afford. And as French consuls and residents are very numerous in the Levant, the information he picked up is neither trifling nor uninteresting, although treated with the rapidity of a superficial traveller, and with a lightness principally amusing to readers of the French school of literature. We shall now proceed to give some account of the work, pointing out in our progress such parts as appear erroneous or exceptionable.

The description of Jerusalem and its environs may be satisfactory to those who wish to acquire general notions of its present state, without entering into deep researches and correct investigations. But here, as well as every where else, an allow-

ance must be made for the prejudices of the author as a Romanist. He of course attaches an importance to certain objects which appear indifferent enough to a general reader. This, however, and the historical parts of his work, appear to us to be the best.

Mr. de Chateaubriand embarked on board of an Austrian ship at Trieste, and was no sooner fairly afloat, than he delineated the element on which he was riding, in the following terms.

“ La Méditerranée, placée au centre des pays civilisés, semée d'îles riantes, et baignant des côtes plantées de myrtes, de palmiers et d'oliviers, donne sur-le-champ l'idée de cette mer, où naquirent Apollon, les Nercides et Venus; tandis que l'Océan, livré aux tempêtes, environné de terres inconnues, devoit être le berceau des fantômes de la Scandinavie, ou le domaine de ces peuples Chrétiens, qui se font une idée si imposante de la grandeur, et de la toute-puissance de Dieu.” T. 1. p. 7.

These ideas are certainly singular enough for a man who was actually sailing on this very sea to the *cradle* of Christianity;—but they are also very incorrect. The fanciful divinities of the Greeks were not derived from a contemplation of the shores of the Mediterranean, but, as we all know, from Egypt, though the Greeks embellished and improved whatever came to them from that source. Neither has the tempestuous ocean cradled in her ancient shield the phantoms of Scandinavia, or contributed one jot more than the Mediterranean to the “imposing grandeur” of Christianity. These circumstances induce us the less to regret the interruption given by a violent storm to the author's meditations, which were diverted into another current by a superstitious incident, common among the Greek and Romish sailors, who, in time of danger, instead of recurring to the means appointed by Providence, abandon themselves to delusive hopes, and are content with placing a candle before the image of the Virgin. After a voyage of eight days, he landed at Modon in the Morea, and immediately made preparations for proceeding to Sparta on horseback. We insert the following characteristic account of the cavalcade, the order of which was preserved throughout the whole journey.

“ A notre tête paroissoit le guide ou le postillon grec à cheval, tenant un autre cheval en lesse: ce second cheval devoit servir de remonte en cas qu'il arrivât quelque accident aux chevaux des voyageurs. Venoit ensuite le janissaire, le turban en tête, deux pistolets et un poignard à la ceinture, un sabre au côté, et un fouet à la main pour faire avancer les chevaux du guide. Je suivois à peu près armé comme le janissaire, portant de plus un fusil de

chasse. Joseph fermoit la marche: ce Milanais étoit un petit homme blond, à gros ventre, le teint fleuri, l'air affable; il étoit tout habillé de velours bleu; deux longs pistolets d'arçon, passés dans une étroite ceinture, relevoient sa veste d'une manière si grotesque, que le janissaire ne pouvoit jamais le regarder sans rire. Mon équipage consistoit en un tapis pour m'asseoir, une pipe, un poëlon à café, et quelques schalls pour m'envelopper la tête pendant la nuit. Nous partions au signal donné par le guide; nous grimpons au grand trot les montagnes, et nous les descendions au galop, à travers les precipices. Il faut prendre son parti; les Turcs militaires ne connoissent pas d'autre manière d'aller, et le moindre signe de frayeur, ou même de prudence, vous exposerait à leur mépris. Vous êtes assis, d'ailleurs, sur des selles de Mamelouks dont les étriers larges et courts vous plient les jambes, vous rompent les pieds, et déchirent les flancs de votre cheval. Au moindre faux mouvement, le pommeau élevé de la selle vous crève la poitrine; et, si vous vous renversez en arrière, le haut rebord de la selle vous brise les reins. On finit pourtant par trouver ces selles utiles, à cause de la solidité qu'elles donnent à cheval, surtout dans des courses aussi hasardeuses.

“ Les courses sont de huit à dix lieues avec les mêmes chevaux: on leur laisse prendre haleine sans manger, à peu près à moitié chemin; on remonte ensuite, et l'on continue sa route. Le soir on arrive quelquefois à un kan, mesure abandonnée où l'on dort parmi toutes sortes d'insectes et de reptiles sur un plancher vermoulu. On ne vous doit rien dans ce kan, lorsque vous n'avez pas de firman de poste: c'est à vous de vous procurer des vivres comme vous pouvez. Mon janissaire alloit à la chasse dans les villages; il rapportoit quelquefois des poulets que je m'obstinois à payer; nous les faisons rôtir sur des branches vertes d'olivier, ou bouillir avec du riz pour en faire un pilau. Assis à terre, autour de ce festin, nous le déchirions avec nos doigts; le repas fini, nous allions nous laver la barbe et les mains au premier ruisseau. Voilà comme on voyage aujourd'hui dans le pays d'Alcibiade et d'Aspasie.” (T. 1. p. 31—33.)

As our author was travelling through the south of the Morea, he might as well have referred to some other ancient worthies, as to a hero of Athens or a lady of Miletus. We shall dwell but little upon the barren fields and desolate villages of Greece, crowned by their ruined castles, and surrounded by the turbaned cemeteries of their oppressors; nor can we participate in the very singular and sorry consolation of M. de Chateaubriand, on contemplating the tombs of the Turks;—that the barbarous ravagers of Greece found their graves in the country they had conquered; because we conceive, that it was the very object of their wishes to live and die in that delightful region, and to transmit it through many generations to its present tyrants.

Neither can we participate in the author's exultations, at

finding every where what he is pleased to call the traces of French honour and of French glory, particularly when he lays the scene of these in *Syria* and in *Egypt*. We think too that in literary glory and preeminence in taste, Spohn, Wheler, and Stuart may well be put in competition with Le Roi, and M. de Choiseul. M. de Chateaubriand gives rather an expressive account of the plaintive national ditty of the Greek postboys, and seems to doubt, whether the *aria* were introduced by the Venetians, by a combination of *French romance* with *Greek gentus*, or whether the Greeks derived them from their ancestors. We are inclined to think that he has been unfortunate in all his guesses, and that the songs of the Morea were derived from the Albanese; because we know that the same music has been observed among the Sclavonians, Illyrians, and the Greeks of Yanina; whereas the Greek music of Constantinople, Smyrna, &c. is very different from the Morean, and much more lively and pleasant. The Albanese have a peculiar dance, very different from the Greek, and very rapid in its motions. but their songs are monotonous and tiresome, and expressive only of sorrow and complaint.

M. de Chateaubriand's ignorance of Eastern manners and languages, and the rapidity of his journey and of his ideas, have drawn him into some ridiculous errors;—for example,—upon a trifling quarrel between some officers of the pacha of the Morea, and some of the Frenchman's servants, he says that the pacha offered upon complaint, “*de faire donner devant moi vingt coups de batons au Déli qui avoit arrêté Joseph*,” (p. 63);—giving *déli* as the proper name of one of the pacha's officers. Whereas every one acquainted with Turkish knows that *déli* means fool in that language, and what the pacha meant to say was, that he would punish the silly fellow who has insulted his visitor's servant. Again he observes, that previous to setting out upon their day's expedition, the attendant janissary “*fit sa prière, se lava les coudes, la barbe, et les mains, se tourna vers l'Orient comme pour appeler la lumière, et nous partimes*.” (P. 63.) This is another mistake; the Turks of Greece in their prayers always turn towards the south or south-east, i. e. towards the caâba, or temple of Mecca. He states also, in his account of Turkish manners, “*que tel esclave a bu le café avec son hôte a qui ce meme hôte fait couper le cou en sortant*.” (P. 78.) But this is overstrained. The Turks as well as the Arabs do yet observe the laws of hospitality, and will not immediately destroy him who has eaten bread and salt with them. This list of errors within twenty pages, taken at random, may serve as a general specimen of the author's inaccuracy, and will save us

the trouble of bringing repeated proofs, that the spirit of romance is so strong upon him, that strict veracity is not allowed to stand in the way of a figure of speech.

The following picture, which occurred during his ride to Sparta, is too characteristic of the country to be passed over.

* A midi nous découvrîmes un kan aussi pauvre que celui de la veille, quoiqu'il fût décoré du pavillon ottoman. Dans un espace de vingt-deux lieues, c'étoient les deux seules habitations que nous eussions rencontrées; la fatigue et la faim nous obligèrent de rester dans ce sale gîte plus long-temps que je ne l'aurois voulu. Le maître du lieu, vieux Turc à la mine rébarbative, étoit assis dans un grenier qui regnoit au-dessus des étables du kan; les chèvres montoient jusqu'à lui, et l'environnoient de leurs ordures. Il nous reçut dans ce lieu de plaisance, et ne daigna pas se lever de son fumier, pour faire donner quelque chose à des chiens de Chrétiens; il cria d'une voix terrible: et un pauvre enfant, rec tout nu, le corps enflé par la fièvre et par les coups de fouet, vint apporter du lait de brebis dans un vase dégoûtant par sa malpropreté; encore fus-je obligé de sortir pour le boire à mon aise, car les chèvres et leurs chevreaux m'assiégeoient pour m'arracher un morceau de biscuit que je tenois à la main. J'avois mangé l'ours et le chien sacré avec les sauvages; je partageai depuis le repas des Bédouins; mais je n'ai jamais rien rencontré de comparable à ce premier kan de la Laconie." (T. 1. p 70, 71)

He then observes, that it was nearly in the same place that the flocks of King Menelaus were depastured, and that his majesty gave a dinner to Telemachus:

"Thron'd next the king, a fair attendant brings
The purest product of the chrystal springs;
Iligh on a massy vase of silver mold
The burnish'd laver flames with solid gold,
In solid gold the purple vintage flows,
And on the board a second banquet rose."

POPE'S ODYSSEY, BOOK IV.

After a few days ride, our traveller arrived at the the ruins of Sparta, the real situation of which he seems to have set out on his journey with the predetermined resolution of having the glory to settle, for the benefit of all future scholars and travellers:—a scheme the more extraordinary, as he has himself declared in his introduction, p. lxix, that Le Roi had satisfactorily effected the object; and as it is notorious that every traveller who has since visited Sparta may equally put in his claim "d'avoir déterminé son emplacement." We shall therefore pass over the many pages devoted to this object, and in their place shall present our readers with the following detail of Turkish

oppression and barbarity, premising, that by the laws of Turkey, when a murder is committed, the next village or inhabited place is answerable for the fine, although its inhabitants can prove themselves perfectly innocent of the crime.

"Nous arrivâmes à midi à un gros village appelé Saint-Paul, assez voisin de la mer: on n'y parloit que d'un événement tragique qu'on s'empressa de nous raconter.

"Une fille de ce village ayant perdu son père et sa mère, et se trouvant maîtressée d'une petite fortune, fut envoyée par ses parents à Constantinople. A dix-huit ans elle revint dans son village: elle parloit le turc, l'italien et le français; et quand il passoit des étrangers à Saint-Paul, elle les recevoit avec une politesse qui fit soupçonner sa vertu. Les chefs des paysans s'assemblèrent. Après avoir examiné entr'eux la conduite de l'orpheline, ils résolurent de se défaire d'une fille qui déshonoroit le village. Ils se procurèrent d'abord la somme fixée en Turquie pour le meurtre d'une chrétienne; ensuite ils entrèrent pendant la nuit chez la jeune fille, l'assommèrent, et un homme qui attendoit la nouvelle de l'exécution, alla porter au pacha le prix du sang. Ce qui mettoit en mouvement tous ces Grecs de Saint-Paul, ce n'étoit pas l'atrocité de l'action, mais l'avidité du pacha; car celui-ci qui trouvoit aussi l'action toute simple, et qui convenoit avoir reçu la somme fixée pour un assassinat ordinaire, observoit pourtant que la beauté, la jeunesse, la science, les voyages de l'orpheline lui donnoient (à lui pacha de Morée) des justes droits à une indemnité: en conséquence Sa Seigneurie avoit envoyé le jour même deux janissaires pour demander une nouvelle contribution." (Vol. 1. p. 122, 123.)

We now come to another of M. de Chateaubriand's grand discoveries, upon which, together with those of the ruins of Sparta, and of the ports of Carthage, to which we shall presently refer, he relies very much for the utility of his journey to the world; and we really think that the whole affords a very amusing view of the ordinary process of French discoveries by land. Of their discoveries by sea we have before had occasion to offer our judgment*.

In galloping over the country near Mycenæ, after having explored the tomb of Agamemnon, the earth sounded hollow under his horse's feet; he dismounted and found a vaulted excavation, which, by the following ingenious process of reasoning, is converted into the tomb of Clytemnestra.

"Pausanias compte à Mycènes cinq tombeaux: le tombeau d'Atrée, celui d'Agamemnon, celui d'Eurymedon, celui de Télédamus et de Pélops, et celui d'Electre. Il ajoute que Clytemnestre

* See British Review, No. 1, article on the voyage of Peron to Australia.

et Egisthe étoient enterrés hors des murs: ce seroit donc le tombeau de Clytemnestre et d'Egisthe que j'aurois retrouvés. Je l'ai indiqué à M. Fauvel, qui doit le chercher à son premier voyage à Argos: singulière destinée qui m'a fait sortir de Paris pour fixer l'emplacement des ruines de Sparte, et découvrir les cendres de Clytemnestre!" (Vol. 1. p. 136.)

It is thus we advance in the career of discovery, from a simple excavation to a tomb, from a tomb to the *ashes* of Clytemnestra. At Corinth our author seriously gives a quotation from Benjamin of Tudela, without seeming at all aware that that Jew published a fictitious journey to places where he never was; but the excuse of ignorance cannot be pleaded in behalf of M. de Chateaubriand, when he states of some columns belonging to the Temple of Diana of Ephesus at Corinth, "*je crois savoir confusément, qu'elles ont été renversées, et que les Anglois en ont emporté les derniers débris.*" The fact is, that these columns have not been carried away by the English, and for the best of all reasons, they are not worth the trouble of the removal.

On quitting Corinth he passed the guard which levied tribute upon all those who have occasion to travel through the isthmus.

"Je montrai mon ordre du pacha: le commandant m'invita à fumer la pipe et à boire le café dans sa baraque. C'étoit un gros homme, d'une figure calme et apathique, ne pouvant faire un mouvement sur sa natte sans soupirer, comme s'il éprouvoit une douleur; il examina mes armes, me fit remarquer les siennes, surtout une longue carabine, qui portoit, disoit-il, fort loin. Les gardes aperçurent un paysan qui gravissoit la montagne hors du chemin; ils lui crièrent de descendre, celui-ci n'entendit point la voix. Alors le commandant se leva avec effort, prit sa carabine, ajusta longtemps entre les sapins le paysan, et lui lâcha son coup de fusil. Le Turc revint, après cette expédition, se rasseoir sur sa natte, aussi tranquille, aussi bonhomme qu'auparavant. Le paysan descendit à la garde, blessé en toute apparence, car il pleuroit et montrait son sang. On lui donna cinquante coups de bâton pour le guérir.

"Je me levai brusquement, et d'autant plus désolé, que l'envie de faire briller devant moi son adresse avoit peut-être déterminé ce bourreau à tirer sur le paysan." (P. 147, 148.)

We cannot quite reconcile the light and jocose manner in which "les cinquante coups de bâton," bestowed by a bloated tyrant upon an innocent and injured man, are mentioned, with M. de Chateaubriand's professions of attachment to liberty and humanity.

At length M. de Chateaubriand observes, the important day arose which was to usher them into Athens; they mounted their horses at three in the morning, in their holiday clothes, the janissary having turned the cleanest side of his turban outwards, and by way of celebrating the day, "par extraordinaire" (as the

Frenchman says), rubbed and dressed his horse. The traveller advanced towards Athens with a kind of pleasure that deprived him of the power of reflection, which, however, he soon seems to have recovered; for the comparison between the impressions respectively made upon the mind by the first view of Sparta and of Athens, appear to us to be among the most just and correct in which the author has indulged.

"Sparte et Athènes ont conservé jusques dans leurs ruines leurs différens caracteres: celles de la première sont tristes, graves et solitaires; celles de la seconde sont riantes, légères, habitées. A l'aspect de la patrie de Lycurgue, toutes les pensées deviennent sereuses, mâles et profondes; l'ame fortifiée semble s'élever et s'agrandir, devant la ville de Solon, on est comme enchanté par les prestiges du génie; on a l'idée de la perfection de l'homme considéré comme un être intelligent et immortel. Les hauts sentimens de la nature humaine prenoient à Athènes quelque chose d'élégant qu'ils n'avoient point à Sparte. L'amour de la patrie et de la liberté n'étoit point pour les Atheniens un instinct aveugle, mais un sentiment éclairé, fonde sur ce goût du beau dans tous les genres, que le ciel leur avoit si libéralement départi; enfin, en passant des ruines de Lacédémone aux ruines d'Athènes, je sentis que j'aurois voulu mourir avec Léonidas, et vivre avec Périclès.

"Nous marchions vers cette petite ville dont le territoire s'étendoit à quinze ou vingt lieues, dont la population n'égalait pas celle d'un faubourg de Paris, et qui balance dans l'univers la renommée de l'Empire romain. Les yeux constamment attachés sur ses ruines, je lui appliquois ces vers de Lucrèce :

"*Primæ frugiferos sætus mortalibus ægris
Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ,
Et receperunt vitam, lege que rogâvunt;
Et primæ dederunt solatium dulcia vitæ*"

The review of the present state of the city and ruins of Athens, made under the direction of so excellent a guide as M. Fauchel, the French consul, is well worthy of attention, and M. de Chateaubriand's account is lively, picturesque, and entertaining. But we are deterred both by our contracting limits, and by the frequent descriptions of the same objects by other travellers, from entering into the detail at present; and shall only observe, that we think him a little too severe upon Lord Elgin for bringing away the figures from the Parthenon, with a view to preserve the exquisite monuments of art from the barbarian hands which were daily mutilating and destroying them.—Considering the cry in which M. de Chateaubriand wrote, we rather admire his courage in particularly specifying among the presents which he highly valued as memorials of kindness from his several friends in the East, a *lone etui*, which Father Muñoz presented to him at Jaffa, as well as the following reflection which

broke from him on summing up his sensations at his departure from Attica. "Si jamais j'avois pensé avec des hommes dont je respecte d'ailleurs le caractère et les talens, que le gouvernement absolu est le meilleur de tous les gouvernemens, quelques mois de séjour en Turquie m'auroient bien guéri de cette opinion." (P. 261. T. 1.) Our readers will not be surprised at this opinion, when they learn that the city of Athens,

"The eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence——"

is now the absolute property of the *chief of the black eunuchs of the seraglio*; and that all the other cities of Greece envy the Athenians for this *signal distinction*, because they consider it as one of the surest protections against the extortions and robberies of the *innominate pachas*. What reflections does this combination of ideas offer to the mind!!

We cannot, however, compliment all the sentiments of our author, as breathing an equal degree of candour and independence. We think, for example, that his general invectives against the modern Greek language are rather unreasonable. He was himself ignorant of it, but had he applied to M. Corai at Paris, he would have informed him that the language is far from being "barbarous," although susceptible of improvement by reference to the classic idiom. Whoever will take the trouble to read the translations of Rollin's History of Telemachus, of Metastasio, of Cornelius Nepos, and many other books, particularly French and Italian, will be convinced that the modern Greek is very well calculated to express ideas on every subject, with a considerable degree of elegance and correctness. But the complete reformation of the modern Greek language must be brought about by the regeneration of the Greek nation. Give them a good government, (under foreign protection till their degraded and vilified minds recover energy enough to govern themselves) and they will soon rise to a respectable rank in arts and letters. They are ingenious, lively, courteous, extremely polite and clever in business; but light, cunning, false, superstitious, and revengeful. They are eager also for emancipation, but without any moral fitness for liberty. M. de Chateaubriand has likewise exhibited the worst side of the Turkish character and government; but we are far from wishing to set ourselves up as the apologists, even of their least objectionable habits. The observations for which we can the least forgive him are those upon slavery, in the 274th p. of T. 1.

"I think," says he, "that the system of slavery was one of the causes of the superiority of the great men of Athens and Rome over the great men of modern times. It is certain, that a man cannot pro-

fit by all the resources of his mind unless he is relieved from the every day concerns of life; and one is so relieved wherever the arts, trades, and domestic occupations are left to slaves. The service of the hired domestic, who quits you when he pleases, and whose negligences and vices you are consequently obliged to endure, cannot be compared with the service of him whose life and death is in your hands. It is certain also, that the habit of absolute dominion over man imparts an elevation to the mind and a dignity to the manners which the vulgar equality of European society can never give."

We shall not say a word in answer to these observations of the sensitive, humane, and liberal M. de Chateaubriand, except to recommend it to him, in his next voyage to America, to verify his theory by a visit to the West Indies.

We shall pass over the author's voyage to Constantinople, his journey over land to Smyrna, and his voyage thence to the Holy Land. The adventures they contain were, we doubt not, very agreeable to him to narrate, as they principally consist of French faufarronnade concerning his quarrels with the Turks, and the great importance of the French in the Levant. But we shall take the liberty of rejoining him in the Holy Land, after giving the following extract, containing sentiments which we have been assured, by those who have approached that country under similar circumstances, are very appropriate. As the ship laden with Latin pilgrims for Jerusalem approached the shore during the night, M. de Chateaubriand observes :

"Je n'ai guère vu de scènes plus agréables et plus pittoresques. Le vent étoit frais, la mer belle, la nuit sereine. La lune avoit l'air de se balancer entre les mâts et les cordages du vaisseau ; tantôt elle paroissoit hors des voiles, et tout le navire étoit éclairé ; tantôt elle se cachoit sous les voiles, et les groupes des pèlerins rentroient dans l'ombre. Qui n'auroit béni la religion, en songeant que ces deux cents hommes, si heureux dans ce moment, étoient pourtant des esclaves, courbés sous un joug odieux ? Ils alloient au tombeau de Jésus-Christ oublier la gloire passée de leur patrie et se consoler de leurs maux présents. Et que de douleurs secrètes ne déposeroient-ils pas bientôt à la crèche du Sauveur ! Chaque flot qui poussoit le vaisseau vers le saint rivage, emportoit une de nos peines." (T. 2. p. 95.)

The ship discharged its cargo at the port of Jaffa, and the affecting account of the christian charity and hospitality of certain Italian monks at that place afforded a singular contrast to other scenes which are recorded in history to have passed on the same soil. But we must hasten to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

The church built over our Lord's nativity at Bethlehem must of course be an interesting object of contemplation to every Christ-

ian. It is a subterranean place of worship, lighted by thirty-two lamps, presented by different christian princes, and being fitted up with much splendour, and preserved with great care, affords a striking contrast to the miserable Arab ruins, and half naked savages, which strike the eye on emerging from the sacred place. The circumstance of the place of our Saviour's nativity being underground has given rise to a controversy whether this be the real stable or no. But natural excavations were often used as stables in ancient times, and many fathers of the church preserved a tradition that Christ was born in Bethleem, in a stable not made by art, but by nature, i. e. in a grotto, (vide Justin, M. Dialog, cum Tryph: Origen contra Cels. and many other fathers.) We confess that our conviction that the knowledge of the real place of our Lord's nativity has been preserved is very much derived from the circumstance of the emperor Adrian's having consecrated a grove at Bethleem to the worship of Adonis, and erected the statue of this god over the grotto in question. (Hieron Epist. 19, &c.) This plainly shews, that the particular spot was visited and revered by the primitive Christians, which the heathen emperor endeavoured to prevent by the repulsive effect of profane and dissolute rites. Providence, however, so ordained, that these very profanations should be the means of ascertaining and transmitting to future ages the knowledge of the precise spot where the glory of the Redeemer first burst upon the world. The following account of M. de Chateaubriand's feelings upon his visit to this holy place well accords with the pleasing and pious sensations which the contemplation of such a scene is calculated to raise in the breast of every sincere Christian.

“ Rien n'est plus agréable et plus dévot que cette église souterraine. Elle est enrichie de tableaux des écoles italienne et espagnole. Ces tableaux représentent les mystères de ces lieux, des Vierges et des Enfans d'après Raphaël, des Annonciations, l'Adoration des Mages, la Venue des Pasteurs, et tous ces miracles mêlés de grandeur et d'innocence. Les ornemens ordinaires de la Crèche sont de satin bleu brodés en argent. L'encens fume sans cesse devant le berceau de Sauveur. J'ai entendu un orgue, fort bien touché, jouer, à la messe, les airs les plus doux et les plus tendres des meilleurs compositeurs d'Italie. Ces concerts charment l'Arabe chrétien qui, laissant paître ses chameaux, vient, comme les antiques bergers de Bethléem, adorer le Roi des Rois dans sa Crèche. J'ai vu cet habitant du désert communier à l'autel des Mages, avec une ferveur, une piété, une religion inconnues des Chrétiens de l'Occident. ‘ Nul endroit dans l'univers, dit le père Neret, n'inspire plus de dévotion. L'abord continuel des caravanes de toutes les nations chrétiennes—les prières publiques, les prosternations—la richesse même des présents que les princes chrétiens y ont envoyés—tout cela excite

cite en votre ame des choses qui se font sentir beaucoup mieux qu'on ne peut les exprimer."

The number of pilgrims to this church has very much diminished of late years, particularly of those of opulence and high rank, whose presence and contributions were most conducive to the maintenance of the ancient splendour of the place.

In his excursion to the Dead Sea, the author met some tribes of Bedouin Arabs, whose morals and manners we are disposed to think he libels, when he asserts that they prostitute their wives and daughters for money. We never heard of such a depraved custom among them, and it is so contrary to the ordinary habits of the Arab race, that we cannot help suspecting that it is only a tale picked up by the author, without having understood the meaning of what he was told. In the Dead Sea he perceived by day, and heard by night, myriads of little fish playing about the shores, contrary to the common and received opinion that it produces and sustains no living creature. We have taken some pains to ascertain this fact, and have been informed by a person who has often conversed with the Arabs that frequent the shores of that sea, that where the Jordan disembogues itself there are many fish carried down with the stream, which live and thrive within the verge of the supply of fresh water at the mouth of the river; but they have no means of ascertaining whether fish exist in the more central depths. Daily experience has convinced them of the falsehood of the report that birds cannot fly over the Dead Sea without falling down dead. They constantly do so without any apparent inconvenience. Flames are occasionally emitted from the surface, accompanied with sulphureous and mephitic smells, and fogs are common at certain seasons. But it does not appear that there is any thing peculiarly unwholesome in the climate of the neighbouring country. M. de Chateaubriand carried home a bottle of the water to Paris, *with a view to ascertain whether the sea-fish of Europe would live in it.* A large piece of the asphaltos, from the borders of the lake, is to be seen at the Latin convent. It resembles coal, but is more shining, burns when put on the fire, and emits a sulphureous and extremely offensive smell.

From Bethleem and the Dead Sea the author proceeded to Jerusalem, the great object and end of his journey. We have no doubt that a man like M. de Chateaubriand, endued with christian feelings, must have been highly gratified at visiting the spot where the mysteries of our holy religion were performed. But his account differs little from that of other travellers; and the city itself and its society has undergone but little change from the state in which it was two centuries ago, when our

plain-spoken countryman, Fynes Moryson, visited it in 1596. "All the citizens," says he, "are either tafflors, shoe-makers, cooks, or smiths, (which smiths make their keys and locks not of iron but of wood,) and in general poore, rascall people, mingled of the stum of divers nations, partly Arabians, partly Moors, partly the basest inhabitants of neighbour countries, by which kind of people all the adjoining territtorie is likewise inhabited, which should have no trafficke if the christian monasteries were taken away. Finally, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, at this day, are as wicked as they were when they crucified our Lord, and as they have been since. Hence it was that Robert D of Normandy being sicke, and carried into Jerusalem upon the backe of like rascalls, when he met by the way a friend who was then returning into Europe, desiring to know what he would command him to his friends, he earnestly entreated him to tell them, that he saw Duke Robert carried into heaven upon the backs of divels."—*Moryson's Itinerary*, folio 1617, p 219.

We shall content ourselves with remarking such passages of M de Chateaubriand's description as have either a pretension to novelty, or may be otherwise interesting to our readers. The great objects of curiosity are of course Mount Calvary, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the convents of Romish monks, who serve as guides and hosts to the Christians visiting Jerusalem, and the great mosque erected on the site of the temple of Solomon.

Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, although formerly at some little distance from Jerusalem, are now in the very heart of the city, a circumstance that can only be accounted for by the very singular form of the ancient Jerusalem. It was built on two elevations, at a short distance from each other, and covered nearly the whole of their surface, thus forming two separate towns, which were joined together by a comparatively narrow slip of buildings, across the valley between, principally occupied in ancient times by the palace and temple of Solomon. These buildings, (according to an accurate general view of the city, taken by Meyer* about thirty years ago, from the Mount of Olives, and which is now before us,) are in ruins, or their sites totally bare, as well as many other parts of the old town. It is obvious that the two masses of buildings thus connected would form a town somewhat in the form of a horseshoe, and Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre are situated in the valley which

* Meyer was an artist employed by Sir Robert Ainslie, while minister at Constantinople, to take views of various remarkable places in the Levant. He was a very accurate draughtsman, without much taste.

was included between the two elevations. But Jerusalem having for many years been the seat of christian governments, it is natural to conclude that their veneration for the spots where their redemption had been fulfilled would lead them to fix their residence as near to them as possible. The church which they built over the tomb of their Saviour has also in all ages attracted crowds of pilgrims of every rank, and houses must of course have sprung up for their accommodation; so that upon the whole, there are sufficient causes to account for the increase of the town in this particular part, or rather for its removal from the elevations into the valley; for the old town, as we have just observed, has now very large spaces within its circuit either quite bare or covered with ruins.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is now in ruins, having been burned down the year after M. de Chateaubriand saw it in 1806. Large subscriptions have been raised among the pious Christians of the Levant for its re-erection. Although the following account of the priestcraft practised there by the Greek clergy, which, though unknown to M. de Chateaubriand, we have received from an eyewitness of veracity, would certainly induce us to wish that the care of this interesting place were transferred to better hands.

On the day of the renewal of the holy fire, as the Greeks call it, the church of the Holy Sepulchre is crowded with pilgrims, Greek, Armenian, Copht, and Abyssinian. This holy fire is said to issue spontaneously from the Holy Sepulchre on Easter eve. At that period the Greek patriarch, with his clergy arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, and followed by the Armenian patriarch and his clergy, and the bishop of the Cophts, march in grand and solemn procession, and singing hymns, three times round the Holy Sepulchre. The procession ended, the Greek patriarch puts off his robes and enters alone into the sepulchre, probably with some phosphorus in his pocket; the Armenian and Cophtic prelates remain in the antichamber, where they state that the angel was sitting when he appeared to the pious women after the resurrection of our Lord. As soon as the holy fire is kindled, as the patriarch says by a miracle, he lights his wax-taper and comes forth from the sepulchre, and offers it first by a previous agreement to such person as bids the highest price for the special privilege of first lighting his taper from that of the patriarch. A considerable sum is paid for this preference, and much competition prevails for it, as they believe that the more it is removed from its first source, the more its purity and efficacy are diminished. The scene of confusion which ensues when the patriarch enters the church with two lighted tapers is beyond description. The people press forward with such incredible eagerness to light their

tapers, that Turkish guards, placed with whips and sticks, and liberally dealing out blows on every side, can scarcely, with all their exertions, prevent many from being trodden to death. The eager motions of the populace, like waves agitated by the wind, the noise and clamour which resound within the dome of the church, the multitude of candles gradually lighted by which the blaze increases, and at length fills the whole building and illuminates its inmost recesses, can more easily be imagined than described. The Greeks assert that the continuation of this pretended miracle is an evident and convincing proof of the truth of their religion, and it is certain that had the fraud been discontinued, the number of pilgrims would be considerably diminished. The pecuniary interests of the clergy would also have suffered; for in former times some thousand (even 30,000) sequins have been paid for the permission of first receiving the fire from the high priest's hands; but superstition, at least among the rich, has latterly so much declined, that a few hundred sequins are now sufficient to secure the privilege.

The Roman Catholic monks of Jerusalem look upon this fraud of the Greeks with horror. They are not exposed to the same temptation, and living in the midst of trials and oppressions, and exercising all the hospitality of which their scanty means are capable, appear to be a simple and interesting race of men. Their character, as well as that of the Jews of Jerusalem, are so well portrayed in the following eloquent passage, that we cannot resist our desire to lay it before the public.

“ Au milieu de cette désolation extraordinaire, il faut s'arrêter un moment pour contempler des choses plus extraordinaires encore. Parmi les ruines de Jérusalem, deux espèces de peuples indépendans trouvent dans leur foi de quoi surmonter tant d'horreurs et de misères. Là vivent des religieux chrétiens que rien ne peut forcer à abandonner le tombeau de Jésus-Christ, ni spoliations, ni mauvais traitemens, ni menaces de la mort. Leurs cantiques rétentissent nuit et jour autour du Saint-Sépulchre. Dépouillés le matin par un gouverneur turc, le soir les retrouve au pied du Calvaire, priant au lieu où Jésus-Christ souffrit pour le salut des hommes. Leur front est serein, leur bouche riante. Ils reçoivent l'étranger avec joie. Sans forces et sans soldats, ils protègent des villages entiers contre l'iniquité. Pressés par le bâton et par le sabre, les femmes, les enfans, les troupeaux se réfugient dans les cloîtres de ces solitaires. Qui empêche le méchant armé de poursuivre sa proie, et de renverser d'aussi faibles remparts? la charité des moines: ils se privent des dernières ressources de la vie pour racheter leurs supplians. Turcs, Arabes, Grecs, Chrétiens schismatiques, tous se jettent sous la protection de quelques pauvres religieux, qui ne peuvent se défendre eux-mêmes. C'est ici qu'il faut reconnoître avec Bossuet, que des mains levées

vers le ciel enfoncent plus de bataillons que des mains armées de javalots.'

"Tandis que la nouvelle Jérusalem sort ainsi du désert, brillante de clarté, jetez les yeux entre la montagne de Sion et le Temple; voyez cet autre petit peuple qui vit séparé du reste des habitans de la cité. Objet particulier de tous les mépris, il baisse la tête sans se plaindre; il souffre toutes les avanies sans demander justice; il se laisse accabler de coups sans soupirer; on lui demande sa tête: il la présente au cimetière. Si quelque membre de cette société pros-crite vient à mourir, son compagnon ira, pendant la nuit, l'enterrer furtivement dans la vallée de Josaphat, à l'ombre du Temple de Salomon. Pénétrez dans la demeure de ce peuple, vous le trouverez dans une affreuse misère, faisant lire un livre mystérieux à des enfans qui, à leur tour, le feront lire à leurs enfans. Ce qu'il faisoit il y a cinq mille ans, ce peuple le fait encore. Il a assisté dix-sept fois à la ruine de Jérusalem, et rien ne peut le décourager; rien ne peut l'empêcher de tourner ses regards vers Sion. Quand on voit les Juifs dispersés sur la terre, selon la parole de Dieu, on est surpris sans doute: mais, pour être frappé d'un étonnement surnaturel, il faut les retrouver à Jérusalem; il faut voir ces légitimes maîtres de la Judée esclaves et étrangers dans leur propre pays; il faut les voir attendant, sous toutes les oppressions, un roi qui doit les délivrer. Ecrasés par la croix qui les condamne et qui est plantée sur leurs têtes, cachés près du Temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre, ils demeurent dans leur déplorable aveuglement. Les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains ont disparu de la terre; et un petit peuple, dont l'origine précéda celle de ces grands peuples, existe encore sans mélange dans les décombres de sa patrie. Si quelque chose, parmi les nations, porte le caractère du miracle, nous pensons que ce caractère est ici. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus merveilleux, même aux yeux du philosophe, que cette rencontre de l'antique et de la nouvelle Jérusalem au pied du Calvaire: la première s'affligeant à l'aspect du sépulcre de Jesus-Christ ressuscité; la seconde se consolant auprès du seul tombeau qui n'aura rien à rendre à la fin des siècles!" (P. 45.)

The great mosque on the site of the temple of Solomon is the last object we shall notice at Jerusalem, concerning which Abulfeda has the following passage in his description of Syria. There is at Jerusalem a mosque, a greater there is none in all Islamism, and in it there is a rock (*sakhra*), which is a stone elevated as a bench, about as high as a man's chest, and its breadth is equal to its height. There is a descent underneath by steps. This *sakhra* served the prophets, and especially the great prophet, as a place of dismounting from al-borak, (a beast larger than an ass and smaller than a camel), who had carried them to Paradise. M. de Chateaubriand gives several extracts from ancient travellers upon the interior of the

mosque; but as all entrance is strictly forbidden to Christians, he had of course no opportunity of verifying the information. The following account was given of this mosque, in the year 1796, by the mufti of Jerusalem to an European, who conversed with him in Arabic at the house of the governor of Jerusalem, called by the Christians Pilate's house. This European is now in England, and from him we had the following account. "Hearing me speak in Arabic, he entered into conversation with me, and I took the liberty of asking him why the Mohammedans would not permit the Christians to see the celebrated mosque of the rock. Upon which he opened a window which overlooks the mosque and all the ground on which it is raised, and permitted me to look at it as much as I pleased. He then said, "We cannot permit the Christians to tread upon that ground, of which every spot is marked by the step of some holy prophet; still less upon the sakhra, or upon the interior of the mosque."

"But there are thirty-two large columns which support the great arches, and many other small columns for the support of the smaller arches; there are many lamps that are lighted on our festivals. There is a mihrab of marble with architectural ornaments, and a staircase to it with steps of the same material. The walls are incrustated with marble like the great mosque at Damascus, and ornamented with painted tiles. The name of God (Allah!) is written in large characters in several parts of the mosque, as well as the names of Mohammed and his first successors. We believe that if an infidel should walk between the columns they would meet and crush him to death.

"The mosque on account of its peculiar sanctity was once the place towards which the mussulmen of north-western Asia were to turn their faces in their prayers; but this commandment was altered by God's especial order, and the Bait Allah (house of God) at Mecca was appointed for the only Kiblah. On the sakhra or rock were fixed iron rings, at which to tie the the prophets horses when they came to worship in the mosque. The mosque is called by many names by the Mohammedans to denote its superiority over other temples, as al aksa, the whole world, al masgid al aksa, or al giarmiâ al aksa, templum extremum. The origin of its importance seems to have been this: the kâfir Abd-al-Malik al Merwan was jealous of Abdallah the son of Zobeir, the ruler of Arabia, and in order to prevent his subjects in Syria from going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and thus enriching his rival; and probably also with a view to attract the profitable concern of receiving pilgrims from other countries to his own capital, he set up this mosque in opposition to that of Mecca. He adorned and beautified it in the year 685 of the

Christian era, employing the whole revenue of Egypt for nine years for the accomplishment of his design. It is believed on the faith of tradition, that the sakhra or rock is the same from which God spake to the patriarch Jacob, and that the sanctum sanctorum was built where the mosque now stands."

Upon the whole it is impossible to contemplate the holy city in its desolate condition without the deepest interest. Jews, Mahometans, and Christians of all sects and denominations unite in acknowledging the existence of something extraordinary and supernatural about her awful ruins. They raise their heads from the dust, and from among them is heard a voice to warn and instruct mankind, and to proclaim to all ages and nations of the world, THIS HATH GOD DONE:

There is nothing very original, though much that is amusing in M. de Chateaubriand's account of his passage through Egypt. His praise of the French renegadoes, who were left in the country by the army of Egypt, is rather disgusting; and when he proceeds to extol their bravery in that country above that of other nations, we could not help recollecting the answer of the Duke of Marlborough to Marshal Tallard after the battle of Blenheim. M. de Chateaubriand's Abstract of the History of Carthage is very entertaining, though a little too prolix for a mere digression in a book of travels. The account of its ports too, which is one of the three points on which he claims the merit of originality, (see advertisement, p. ix.) may very possibly be correct; but before we read it, we happened to know a little circumstance that called up a smile upon our countenance in every page. M. de Chateaubriand, as we have been informed by an Englishman, who happened to be at Tunis during his residence there, was unfortunately never out of that town till the day before his departure for Europe. He did then take one ride to the ruins of Carthage, and *verified* by a rapid coup-d'œil what he had previously picked up in conversation at Tunis. Our readers will probably agree with us, that this is a mode of research extremely convenient to valetudinarian travellers.

In taking leave of M. de Chateaubriand, we feel disposed upon the whole to recommend his work to the attention of those who may wish, with little exertion, to obtain a general idea of the interesting countries through which he passed. We thought the hours spent by us in its first perusal very agreeably employed. Making allowance for national vanity, and the rapidity of his motions and of his ideas, there appears to be no serious or important deviation from truth. His historical researches and quotations from other travellers have been in general made with judgment, and even in those passages where we differ

from his opinions, we are ready to allow him considerable ingenuity. His sense of religion distinguishes him very honourably from many of his countrymen, who, knowing nothing of genuine religion as derived from the scriptures, and judging of it only according to the gross superstitions of their national church, have fallen either into a criminal and pernicious infidelity, or into a state of absolute indifference.

ART. V. *Christian Liberty; a Sermon, preached at St. Mary's, before his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Chancellor of the University, and the University of Cambridge, at the Installation, June 30, 1811.* By Samuel Butler, D. D. late Fellow of St. John's College, and Head Master of Shrewsbury School. Shrewsbury. Evans, Pall Mall. 1811.

IT is a characteristic of Christianity that "to the poor the gospel is preached." But indeed *preaching* may be considered as a means scarcely less revealed than the truths themselves which it is appointed to disseminate. For this instrument of propagating truth is peculiar to the true religion, in its different stages, under the distinct modifications of Judaism and Christianity. A good account may certainly be given why the heathen governments did not employ this organ for establishing their various superstitions. A religion of mere form is best taught by the mere exhibition of the form. They had little to teach but the importance of certain feasts and ceremonies, which were too agreeable to the popular taste to need any extrinsic recommendation. Nor was preaching, by which is meant a public and popular enunciation of the truths of religion by its accredited ministers, better suited to those philosophers, who, abandoning the religion of the state, taught an exoteric creed of their own. Not regarding man as an immortal being, the unlettered multitude occupied but a small space in their eyes. Not conceiving that a creed of any kind would affect the condition of man through all eternity, they concerned themselves more with abstract truths than those which respect our duty. On the one hand, therefore, they were little interested in addressing the multitude, and on the other, if they had, the lessons they taught were not such as to excite their attention. Accordingly they suffered the mob to grope on amidst the thick clouds of their own superstition, and taught their particular

system only to a small circle of scholars. They spoke to the initiated, and only from behind the veil. Even Socrates, who is characterised as having brought down truth from heaven to earth, as having reduced philosophy to the service of man, through fear of disturbing the popular superstition, or letting in the rays of philosophy through the casements of the poor, sacrificed in his dying moments a cock to Esculapius. Of the systems of some other philosophers the mass of the people could scarcely be said to hear even the faintest reports. The mysteries of Dionysia and Eleusis are buried in the caverns in which they were taught and practised. They were the freemasonry of antiquity; or, rather, if we may judge by the outward rites of profligacy which sometimes accompanied the festivities of these religionists, they resembled those anti-christian conspirators described by Barruel, who devised, in the cells of their philosophical retreats, systems and schemes which were to disorganize a world.

But to return. As preaching, in the sense in which we have employed the term, was never used as a part of the machinery, by which it was endeavoured to give effect or circulation to the systems of heathenism, so also it was scantily employed in the Jewish dispensation. The chief objects of that dispensation sufficiently explain why the outward rites were so numerous. It was designed, for instance, to sever one people from all the rest of the world, for which purpose peculiar, costly, and laborious rites were well calculated. It was designed also to typify the sacrifice of the Messiah, which could be accomplished only by ceremonial sacrifices. Now the forms of religion were, as we before observed, best taught by the display of these forms. Nor did the large body of truth connected with these rites in that partial dispensation demand the aid of public and popular instruction to the extent now required. God then preached by miracles, by immediate revelation, by temporal rewards to the good, and temporal punishments to the bad. This instructs us why the priests and Levites were not appointed to preach, and why the daily reading of the law, and the occasional and scanty ministry of the prophets, supplied the place of the heralds who now proclaim to listening millions the joyful tidings of salvation. When Christianity appeared, the scheme of Divine Providence assumed a new aspect. The barriers were to be thrown down between all nations. The floodgates of mercy were to be opened, and truth to be poured out upon the world.

A highway was to be made in the desert, by which men of all nations and languages might approach to heaven. The people of God were no longer to be a single nation, but the whole

world. Then it was that God seemed, as it were, to consecrate this new instrument as being suited to the vastness of the new dispensation.

Wherever christianity gained an entrance, she entrenched herself behind her established ministers; and to this moment it is chiefly by her preachers, under the Divine blessing, that she retains her old conquests, and carries her standard into every quarter of the globe. Preaching being thus the right hand by which Christianity does her work, its progress cannot but be watched with anxiety by all the friends of genuine religion and of the establishment.

As self constituted, and therefore more responsible, guardians of the public, we feel it right to keep our eye fixed upon the pulpits of the country; and when any particular sermon by the reputation of its author, by the peculiarity of its subject, or by the circumstances of its delivery, is calculated to influence the public mind, we shall think it right to step in with our scales in our hand, and to estimate the effect of this influence upon the cause of real religion. These observations may serve as a key to some future reviews, and supply an apology for a somewhat extended examination of the single sermon before us.

Dr. Butler, the author of this sermon, is the master of the free school at Shrewsbury. He had, earlier in life, received the stamp of university approbation, by an appointment to edit, we believe, certain plays of *Æschylus*; and was lately appointed to preach in the university pulpit at the installation of the new chancellor. Such being the case, much was expected from him. It was hoped that when half the fashion and levity of the nation was thus drawn to a point by the university festivities, the preacher might profit from his mechanical advantage, and bring some force to act which might move the mass; that, (if we may pursue a species of metaphor borrowed from his own university,) he would expose those disturbing forces by which men are drawn from their proper orbits, and endeavour to bring them back to the paths traced out for them by the hand of the great mechanist. It will be seen how far the preacher has fulfilled this hope.

The subject of the sermon is the "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free;" and its chief topics are the distinction as to liberty between the Jewish and Christian dispensation; the nature of the liberty of conduct sanctioned by the example of Christ; the invasion of this liberty by the papists, whom nevertheless he wishes (as it is termed) to emancipate; and the still more formidable and despotic assaults upon it by that body of men, whom he and others persist in naming, with no very

intelligible application of the term, the evangelical clergy. As to the value of our enfranchisement from the burdensome rites of the ceremonial law there cannot be two opinions. As to the question also of the misnamed emancipation of the Catholics, our opinion has already been expressed. Upon these two points, therefore, we shall leave the public in undisturbed possession of Dr. Butler's reasonings.

It would be difficult to give our readers an accurate conception of the use made of the character of Christ, without calling upon them (which we should be sorry to do) to read the whole discourse. The design of the author is forced upon the reader rather by a spirit running through the whole, than by solitary expressions.

His opinion appears to be this, that the example of Christ warrants his followers in the unrestrained enjoyment of all worldly society and amusements; that the conduct of Socrates in supping with courtezans, &c. may be considered as fairly analogous to that of our Lord; and that every attempt to establish a system of general self-denial is a bigoted assault upon the christian liberties of man.

The inaccuracy of the two last propositions will at once be recognised by those of our readers who remember first, that Socrates winked at the prodigality of his companions, whereas Christ condemned the crime, and, in general, reformed the criminal; and secondly, that this very teacher, whose example is erected into a triumphant refutation of the lessons of self-denial, laid it down as a first principle of his system, that "if any man would be his disciple, he must deny himself, and take up his cross and follow him." These points, therefore, we shall leave Dr. Butler to settle with the public in his next address to them. The first position, as to the precedent afforded by Christ in his intercourse with society, is somewhat more complex and debatable. If, however, our readers will bear with us in the discussion of a question which comes home to every man's bearings and bosoms, we do not despair of proving that the life of Christ teaches the same lesson with his doctrines; and that neither can be made to square with the positions and deductions of the head master of Shrewsbury school.

In the first place, then, it must be admitted, that the life of Christ sanctions nothing of sour austerity, or monastic indolence; and that, consequently, those of his followers who "spent their lives upon the top of a pillar" had not imbibed the spirit of their master; and that those armies of monks who, in after ages, shaved their crowns in honour of the gospel, would have done well in some instances to have laid a blister upon the bare

place, in order to bring them to a less feverish conception of that religion, so falsified by their practice. It must be admitted, moreover, that the example of Christ sanctions no abandonment of the duties attached to our actual station in life. His meat and drink was to do the will of him who sent him; and the artificer in his shop, the general with his army, Dr. Butler in preaching, and we in criticising, supposing these various functions to be conscientiously discharged, may all alike be fulfilling the will of Him who sent us. But, still more, the example of Christ is one grand lesson of love, of tenderness, of practical benevolence to suffering man. All that is stern, selfish, or narrow, flies, like disease itself, at his approach. If but the hem of his garment be touched, a healing virtue goes out of him. If he enters a house, it is to say "peace be to this house." If he adds a new commandment, it is "to love one another." If he exerts divine power, it is, without any exception, to sooth a pang or save a soul. If, in short, Pludias or Lebrun had been called upon to present to mankind the figure of charity, they would have embodied the character of Christ.

Thus far, therefore, we obsequiously accompany the learned author; but here we stop. There are other features in the character of Christ, unnoticed indeed by Dr. Butler, but which are not less integral parts of the perfect whole.

In the first place, where our Lord retires from the path of active and social duty, does he recreate the mind, by devoting the hours of the night to a new, tumultuous, or dissipated society? He is gone to the "mountain to pray." There he holds high converse with God.—Again, Christ is indeed to be found at the marriage feast, or at the social board. But it is mainly to convince his companions by a miracle; to persuade them by a story; to guide them by a precept; or, to touch them by a display of heavenly love.—Still more, he is to be seen even in a circle of sinners; but then he tells us the specific character in which he sits among them, "*the sick need a physician.*"

Let these points, then, in the character of Christ be considered; and it will at once be discovered upon how partial a basis the fabric of the author stands. Like the two knights in the fable, (which any of his own boys will tell him,) looking at the party-coloured shield only on one side, he closes his eye upon one half of the portrait he is examining. The Christ he presents to us, is not the Christ of the Scriptures. It is, perhaps, one of those false Christs who should arise; and who, assuming his title, should betray the world, which he lived and died to save. Let this artist then, if he also must give his "*ecce homo*" to the world, rather borrow the pencil of an evangelist than employ his own.

Let him, while he paints the man, not forget the *glory* with which he was invested. Let him display the Saviour of the world, not only in the market-place, but in the temple, on the mountain, and in the wilderness; there kindling his flame at the altar of God, there feeding upon the heavenly manna, there touching heaven while he stood upon earth, and imparting to man the virtue he derived from God. If the character of Christ, then, teaches any lesson upon the subject of worldly society and amusements, it is this—that benevolence does not supersede devotion; that it is in retirement men are best disciplined for the world; and that he who would live safely with man, must begin by living in communion with God.

The transcendent importance of this topic will, we trust, justify the serious, and somewhat uncritical, strain of the above observations. Dr. Butler, in fact, has compelled us to exchange the critics chair for the pulpit. We ourselves discover our own interest in the exchange. It is when regular practitioners abuse all the principles of their science, that empirics ride in their coaches. We pass on next to consider the allegations of the author against those whom he terms the *evangelical teachers*. That body of clergy fill too large a space in the eye of the nation, not to deserve the rigid investigation of all philosophers; and, like other lofty objects, they have attracted too much of the fulminations of surrounding clouds, not to require all the protection which conductors (or critics) can conscientiously lend them. Esteeming ourselves, in a measure, divested of those prejudices which hang as a sort of scales upon the eyes, both of the friends and enemies of this class of men, we shall endeavour to do justice to both parties in the ensuing remarks.

Dr. Butler, having some rather heavier charges to bring than he would perhaps feel himself quite prepared to substantiate, dexterously states, for a time at least, the crime, without naming the criminal. He levels his piece at random, and trusts to the bias of his hearers to guide it aright.

Collecting then the allegations from the four quarters of his work, we find the author adverting to the errors of those who say,

“That the desires which are the natural and only spurs to action, are to be subdued into supine indifference and listless insensibility.—that when man has done, and willed to do, all that man is capable of doing; when, by a life of mortification, and melancholy, and entire abstraction from all worldly interest, he has wrought himself into habitual and invincible apathy; when he has accustomed himself to look with sullen and sour disgust upon the pleasures and duties of life—his labour, even in the Lord, may be in vain; that God

may have secretly and irrecoverably have doomed him to everlasting perdition; from which no belief, however sincere, in the revealed word of God, no thanksgiving for mercies already received, no prayer for protection and succour, no remorse for sins past, no resolutions or efforts for amendment in time to come, can rescue the hopeless, helpless, guiltless victim—and that nothing but certain tumultuous, irresistible, inexplicable intimations, can afford him any safe and well-grounded assurance of pardon and reward.” (P. 26.)

Having thus fabricated his little image of an evangelical teacher, this master of the puppet-show pulls his string, and makes his puppet speak.

“Come (says the evangelical teacher) to us all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and the Gospel from our lips will refresh you. He that hath ears to hear the Gospel in its primitive purity and perfection, let him hear it in our Zion. Behold we shew you a *mystery*. After the first experience of the grace that cometh from thus hearing the word of God, you will no longer sleep; but you will be changed, as in a moment, by the mighty working of that faith which subdueth all things to itself. In the twinkling of an eye, you will be raised from the death of heathenish ignorance, and antisciptural corruption, into the life of the new creature, which is Christ Jesus.” (P. 32.)

Besides this, the author carries on a sort of running parallel between the evangelical body and the Roman catholics, in which, in addition to many other follies and crimes with which he endeavours to saddle them, he affirms them (p. 29.) to “believe in daily miracles performed among themselves; in preternatural effusions of the spirit; in hourly and especial providences; in sudden celestial influences and impulses; in divine visitations, of favour or of vengeance.” In another place (p. 35.) they are described as soaring into a still higher region of absurdity and arrogance than their Roman catholic prototypes; for, whereas the latter appeal to antiquity for the vindication of their creed, these evangelical heresiarchs found their pretensions simply upon the *novelty* of their discoveries and doctrines. Much more in the same spirit might be extracted; but as the other charges belong chiefly to the class of petty scandal and personality, we shall pass them by; and, reducing the charges already quoted to a few grand propositions, we shall proceed to offer some comment upon them.

If then our readers will take the trouble of casting their eye back upon the preceding extracts, they will find the author charging the evangelical body as universal converts to the highest and most unqualified tenets of Calvinism; as believers in the doctrines of impulses and bodily emotion; and as verging in

many of their doctrines and habits, to the errors of the Roman church. Upon each of these allegations we shall beg leave to touch; though we are sensible that our space does not admit of our doing complete justice to any one.

In the first place, then, when this body of men are charged as receivers of the highest and most unqualified doctrines of Calvinism, it should be remembered what persons are included in the charge. It would include, so sweeping are his objections, Mrs. Hannah More, the late Bishop of London, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Faber, the late Bishop of St. Asaph, the present Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Paley, if he is to be judged by the posthumous volume which was his best legacy to the world. There are points on which Calvin and Arminius were agreed; on these it will be found that the above-named distinguished writers of our own age agree with Calvin. There are other points on which the professors of Leyden and Geneva disagreed; on these, perhaps, the writers just alluded to may be found to lean towards Arminius. What then becomes of the accuracy, we had almost said, of the honesty of a controversialist who, in order to discredit his adversaries, imputes to them sentiments as little allied to their creed as to his own? We think that it will clearly result from a cautious and candid examination of the works of these writers, that they are not Calvinists: and not only this, but it appears to our humble, but impartial judgment, that a large proportion of the clergy, ordinarily classed with them, hold no tenet exclusively calvinistic; and still further, that the calvinistic members of this body, with very few exceptions, do not introduce the calvinistic peculiarities of their system into their printed or preached discourses. This subject demands some investigation. Whoever, then, has looked into the history of that more ardent spirit of religion which has sprung up in the establishment during the last half century, we think, will perceive a considerable revolution of opinion amidst its more religious members. At one period a mitigated species of Calvinism pervaded the body. Now, (though we fear the Calvinists will not thank us for our way of solving the problem,) as men of more refinement, of greater learning, of larger and more philosophical views, of more candor, have fallen into their ranks; the Calvinism has more and more disappeared, and a less systematic theology has succeeded. As far as we have had an opportunity of examining the writings, or hearing the sermons of this body, they appear to us (in by far the greater number of instances) to steer a middle course between the extremes of Antinomianism and Pelagianism; to preserve a sort of neutrality upon the points so long controverted by the fiery Calvinists and

Arminians; to hold, that moderate men of both classes may honestly range themselves under the banner of the cross; to believe that our mother, the church, also designed to admit the sober and devout of both classes within her pale; and, receiving the Scriptures in great simplicity of mind, to use indiscriminately, as instruments of their spiritual warfare, all those passages of an opposite tendency, which controversialists had hitherto brandished as the chosen weapons of their particular faction. They appear to us, (as far as we have opportunity of observing them,) on the one hand, not to reject those passages which imply the omnipotence of divine grace; nor, on the other, those which insist upon the necessity of human exertion. But, taking each as they find them prodigally dispersed in the sacred pages, they teach their hearers to trust in God, as though he were to do all, and to labour themselves as though he were to do nothing.

Our objections, however, to the author as to the subject of Calvinism, by no means rest here. It may indeed be true, that a few of these divines hold some of the tenets peculiar to the school of Calvin. But then the Calvinism (if that name must be borrowed to denominate opinions in part distinct from the tenets of Calvin) has scarcely any features in common with the species of Calvinism described by this pulpit warrior. Where, in the whole catalogue of modern calvinistic writers, can be found the man so besotted with his system, as to say, (p. 26.) that "no belief, however sincere, no remorse for sins past," &c. &c. "*can* rescue the hopeless, helpless, guiltless victim?" Does he not know that every Calvinist would say—he who has the belief and the remorse, will assuredly have the "*rescue*?" The author himself is not a more stern objector to the grosser species of Calvinism, to that species, we mean, which tends to disparage the importance of the law of God, or to supersede human exertions, than ourselves. And we have thought it right, on more than one occasion, pretty loudly to proclaim our opinions. But we conceive those to be both ungenerous and clumsy polemics, who completely amalgamate all classes that differ from themselves; who, like some northern, or, as report says, southern journalists, pass over what they call "the nicer shades of this lunacy;" who, like the Bishop of Lincoln, insist that he who holds one tenet of Calvinism, must, *nolens volens*, hold all; who, like the present author, fashions a little imaginary monster, whom he christens a Calvinist; and then, as far as his little rapier will assist him, attempts to run him through the body. We cannot but recollect that those excellent prelates Usher and Hall were Calvinists; and we think the opinions of such men entitled at least to toleration. We remember what Bishop Burnet,

himself an Arminian, has said of Calvinism. We remember also what Bishop Horsley, himself an Arminian, and a divine inferior to none in extensive learning and powers of profound disquisition, has said with regard to the Arminianism of the church; and of the modern defenders of it*. "I assert, what I have often before asserted, and, by God's grace, I will persist in the assertion to my dying day, that so far is it from the truth, that the Church of England is decidedly Arminian, and hostile to Calvinism, that the truth is this; that upon the principal points in dispute between the Calvinists and Arminians, upon all the points of *doctrine* characterising the two sects, the Church of England maintains an absolute neutrality. Her articles explicitly assert nothing but what is believed *both* by Arminians and by Calvinists." And, in another passage, levelled, we conceive, by anticipation, at the author, he says: "Take especial care before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism and what is not; lest, when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin. I must say that I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the Church; as they were meant to be . . . Give me the principles on which these writers argue, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say, Arminians only, and Archbishop Laud, but the fathers of the Council of Trent, of Calvinism." These passages, and many like them, we confess have their weight with us; and dispose us rather to interpose ourselves between the combatants, in this battle of all ages and ranks, than to become partizans on either side. Why should it not be hoped that the Church may at length put off her armour, died as it is with the blood of her own soldiers; hang up, with other trophies in her cathedrals, the casque and shield so long sullied by the dust of controversy; and consecrate her confederated strength to the peaceful toils of instruction and exhortation?

To the next charge of the author, which imputes to the evangelical body a belief in sudden conversion, in miracles performed among themselves, in preternatural effusions of the spirit; in hourly and especial providences; in sudden and celestial influences; in divine visitations, of favour or of vengeance; in tumultuous, inexplicable, and irresistible intimations;—" (p. 29.) so various is the matter, that we find it difficult to make any comment. We begin, however, by observing that the author, in making out this sort of catalogue, reminds us of the Irishman who, in order to get rid of a bad shilling, slipped it in among some good halfpence; or of the Romans, who, by way of punishing cer-

* Primary Charge, late Bishop of St. Asaph.

tain crimes, were accustomed to link a man to an ape and throw both into the Tyber. After the same manner by linking truth to falsehood, good to bad, the author contrives to get rid of both. By connecting "visitations of providence" with "miracles performed among themselves," and "especial providences" with "preternatural effusions of the spirit," the effect is, though we trust the design is not, equally to discredit all these doctrines. The advantage of this to the author is manifest. An open denial of all visitations of providence where God himself asks with regard to certain crimes, "shall I not visit for these things;" or an explicit rejection of an especial providence where Christ says, "every hair of your head is numbered," would necessarily bring his orthodoxy into suspicion. By the present method these doctrines are sunk in the density of the surrounding matter.

The next observation that we are tempted to make on this charge is, that it is unsupported by any one proof. And although it might have been easy to show that this body of clergy maintain the doctrines of divine visitations, (using the phrase in a sense which shall be explained) and of a minute and particular providence; we really cannot say that our reading furnishes us with any instances in which they uphold the doctrine of modern "miracles," and "preternatural effusions of the spirit." Here again, then, we cannot help observing, where was the accuracy of the author, and where his conscience, when he brought the accusation? As to the doctrine of divine visitations, it is indeed unscriptural to affirm, that this world is the scene of punishment and reward; it is also enthusiastic to say, that we can always decypher the design of Providence in any particular interference—it is a high degree of arrogance so to interpret all interference in favour of our own creed and party. And it is for the author to prove, that these his antagonists sanction any of these errors. But to hold generally that "godliness is on the whole profitable to the life that now is"—that God sometimes visibly interferes, even here, to punish the bad and reward the good, is neither enthusiasm nor presumption, but an opinion founded both upon experience and scripture. What the author may intend by miracles and preternatural effusions of the spirit, it is impossible to say. The orthodox, however, cannot hope to satisfy a theologian, who contends (p. 114.) that, "we are now left to the common operations of reason." The next allegation against this body as believers in "tumultuous, irresistible, inexplicable intimations" as the tests of piety, seems to have no parent but the creative imagination of this ardent penman. This charge, however, in part supplies us with the history of the present discourse. Any person who is not deterred by the sermon

from reading the notes, will find there abundant extracts from Bishop Lavington's attack upon the early methodists. Behold then the *mode of attack*; the author has heard the evangelical clergy called methodists; and Bishop Lavington attacks the methodists. He takes therefore the episcopal volume, transfers first to modern methodism all the follies of its first converts, and then to the evangelical clergy of the church of England all the follies of methodism in all ages. Now, of course, nothing can be more unwarrantable than such a method of assault. For by the like process, as the "evangelical clergy have been called *saints*" they may be proved to be angels; and, having been named "*puritans*," they may be shown to have beheaded the king and dissolved the parliament—deeds certainly not very characteristic of angelic natures.

The great importance of the subject, and the very general ignorance that prevails upon it, will, we trust, induce our readers to bear with us while we examine the only remaining allegation, that of the approach of this body to the spirit and to the usurpations of popery. What can have suggested this analogy to the author, it is impossible to say. We certainly had imagined that *no two* things in the universe were more unlike than a papist and a methodist. If each may be characterized as a disease, the one is a chill, and the other a fever; the one a paralysis, and the other St. Vitus's dance. Indeed the parallel is so absurd that we should not have noticed it, but that the author has, in pointing out a false likeness, directed our attention to a true one. We cannot then but think that the spirit of popery is in a degree to be discovered in what may be called the very high church party of every establishment, though we grudge any men a title which seems to imply a stronger attachment to the church than that which we glory in professing. Popery is the offspring not of young dissent, but of old establishments; not of a poor but a rich, not of an illiterate but a fastidious, not of a zealous but a worldly body. It was the ambitious scheme of a secular priesthood to grasp the sceptre of the world. Its doctrines, its gorgeous rites, its penances and miracles were all a sort of machinery by which men were either to be drawn or forced into the power of the priests. The visible church was the great image to be worshipped; the form was to be considered as of a paramount, and almost exclusive importance. The Bible was to be locked up; the people to be kept in profound ignorance; for all these could readily be shaped into a ladder of steps, by which the pope could mount to the throne of Christendom. When, therefore, we discover in some of our churchmen *an endeavour* to confound the differ-

ence between the church visible and invisible; an absorption of the spirit of religion in the form; a sneaking antipathy to the free circulation of the Bible; a reluctant compliance with the measures adopted for the instruction of the rising generation; we seem to see the crest of popery again lifting itself, and lament, that though the serpent is scotched, it is not killed. We forbear to apply all this, just on the same ground that we should refuse to cast our parent into the Ganges, when we conceived him somewhat decrepid. The church of England indeed is not decrepid. Hers is a green old age. She has, in her constitution, the elements of all that is great and good. For a time, it is true, she seemed to languish, her powers to decay, and her spiritual dissolution to have almost taken place. She was not however, "dead," but "slept." She has arisen from the ground on which she lay, and shaken off the dust which dimmed her original lustre. We feel our "lot to have fallen in a fair ground." We see, with wonder and gratitude, a crisis in which almost every child is taught to read, is presented with a Bible, and is addressed by a faithful interpreter of that Bible. And though we neither "see visions, nor dream dreams," we certainly anticipate a glorious day for religion and for England. She is already lifted as a Pharos to the world—as the watch-tower and light of the nations. In the blaze which this glorious contemplation has poured around us, we really cannot stop again to look for the master of Shrewsbury school, and the black speck in the religious horizon, which he has pretended to discover. Perhaps it is a fly in his glass, which, like the philosophers in *Æsop*, he has mistaken for a monster in the heavens. Let him, like us, turn aside to "see this great sight." Let him contemplate a far sublimer spectacle than did the hero who watched the rising walls of Carthage,—the spectacle of a reviving church; and let him exclaim in the language with which we are all so familiar,

"O fortunati quorum jam mania surgunt."

ART. VI. *Further Inquiries into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air by the Germination of Seeds, the Vegetation of Plants, and the Respiration of Animals.* By Daniel Ellis.

THE present treatise, in connection with the "Inquiry," of which it is a continuation, presents a more ample and scientific investigation of the chemical relations of atmospheric air to the

processes of germination, vegetation, and respiration, than has hitherto been published. Without entering into a strict analysis of it, we propose to lay before our readers those parts which we regard as of more peculiar interest from their novelty or importance.

The leading proposition which Mr. Ellis has undertaken to establish is, that the relation of these three processes to the atmospheric air is the same,—that seeds in germinating, vegetables in their growth, and plants in respiration, consume the oxygen of the air, and form carbonic acid. The principal novelty in this proposition, our chemical readers will be aware, is in that part of it which relates to vegetation, and on this we have first to offer a few observations.

The necessity of air to support vegetation is apparent from the facts, that not only is the growth arrested, but the life of the plant destroyed when the air is excluded, and that plants decay when their leaves, which are their proper respiratory organs, are removed. Considerable difference of opinion has prevailed, however, with regard to the relation of growing plants to atmospheric air.

Priestley had found, in various experiments, that the purity of air, corrupted by the processes of combustion, animal respiration or putrefaction, is restored by a growing vegetable being placed in it. By the first processes the oxygen of the air is abstracted, and carbonic acid gas is formed; by the changes produced by the growing plant, the carbonic acid is abstracted or removed, and the oxygen is restored, and thus an admirable view of adjustment was presented in the relation of animals and vegetables to the atmosphere,—the one counteracting the changes produced by the other, and its due purity and uniform composition being preserved by this reciprocal action.

The experiments of Priestley, on which this view was founded, could never, however, be regarded as fully established. He himself admitted that they had frequently failed, or had produced very different results; and in the experiments of Scheele, made nearly at the same time, it was uniformly found that the oxygen of the air was consumed, and carbonic acid formed. Yet as Mr. Ellis remarks, “notwithstanding the uncertain, and in many respects contradictory, evidence on which the conclusion of Priestley has been shewn to rest, few opinions in modern science have obtained a more general belief; and both physiologists and chemists seem, in this instance, to have satisfied themselves with contemplating at a distance the beauty of the *jinal* *et* *c.*, instead of approaching to a nearer examination of the facts on which the opinion has been maintained.” This exami-

* nation Mr. Ellis has undertaken, and the results he has obtained are altogether opposed to the notion that plants by their vegetation purify the air: his experiments prove, indeed, that they deteriorate the air in the same manner that animals do,—consume its oxygen, and convert it into carbonic acid. It will not be expected that we should enter into any detail of these experiments. Much precaution appears to have been taken to avoid any source of fallacy; the results were submitted to very strict examination, and in all were the same. The general mode of conducting the experiment was, to place a quantity of lime water together with a growing plant, in a jar filled with atmospheric air, inverted over water; the lime water soon acquired a pellicle on its surface, which increased until it had become turbid; the air at the same time suffering a diminution of volume; results which proved the formation and abstraction of carbonic acid: and when at the end of the experiment, the residual air was submitted to eudiometrical examination, it was found to have lost the greater part of its oxygen. In other cases, the jar with the growing plant was placed over pure water, either alone, or with a solution of potash in a separate vessel, by which the carbonic acid was absorbed; and in his later experiments, Mr. Ellis not only employed herbaceous and succulent plants, but those which are ligneous and have an abundant foliage, thus obviating the fallacy which might be supposed to arise from the former being imperfectly developed.

From a review of the experiments of former chemists, Mr. Ellis has shewn that these are the results which had usually been obtained. Scheele had found that growing plants uniformly consume the oxygen of the air, and convert it into carbonic acids. Ingenhouz had obtained the same results, and had even considered a supply of oxygen as necessary to vegetable life. And the necessity of oxygen to support vegetation, as well as its conversion into carbonic acid, were not less strongly stated by Sennebier. Yet the conclusions of Priestley continued to be generally received; and even one of the latest experimentalists, Woodhouse, though he found, in common with others, that carbonic acid is produced by the action of a growing plant on atmospheric air, supposed this to be an effect, not the result of vegetation, but foreign to it, arising from the oxygen of the air acting on the vegetable part of the soil, or on the carbonaceous matter of the decayed leaves of the plant.

The difficulty attending this subject, which has in some measure caused the opinion of Priestley to be retained, or has thrown doubt on the conclusion that it now appears ought to be drawn, arises from the fact sufficiently established, that growing

vegetables under exposure to the rays of the sun give out oxygen gas. This was proved by the numerous experiments of Ingenhouz, and has been amply confirmed by those of Sennebier, Woodhouse, and Saussure. It further appears to be proved by the same experiments, that this oxygen is derived from the decomposition of carbonic acid. Mr. Ellis, from the consideration of this being a change so entirely the reverse of that which he regarded as the natural effect of vegetation, was rather inclined, in his first publication, to doubt the accuracy of the facts on which it was supposed to be established. In the second part of his work he has admitted that it is sufficiently demonstrated; but he still maintains the opinion which he had advanced, that the consumption of oxygen, and its conversion into carbonic acid, are the necessary effects of vegetation; and he regards this evolution of oxygen, under exposure to solar light, as a chemical effect foreign to this process, or not essentially connected with it.

This is the most interesting, and the most difficult question which at present occurs with regard to the theory of vegetation. It is proved that growing vegetables consume the oxygen of the air, and convert it into carbonic acid, and this even under exposure to clear day-light. It is also proved, that when exposed to the rays of the sun they decompose carbonic acid, and give out oxygen gas. They perform, therefore, under these different circumstances, two functions with regard to the air, precisely the reverse of each other, and the question evidently remains for decision, what relation have these functions to the general process of vegetation, and which of them is most intimately connected with the life and growth of the plant. In reply to this, Mr. Ellis has very forcibly remarked (p. 94.), that a supply of oxygen gas appears to be essential to vegetation, that without this the living plant is unable to survive, while in an atmosphere of carbonic acid gas it speedily dies; the consumption of oxygen appears to be a constant operation, proceeding both under exposure to light and in the shade, while the other takes place only at intervals, and while the plant is exposed to the sun. This production of oxygen too takes place under circumstances in which vegetation can scarcely be supposed to proceed, as when the leaves are detached from the plant and immersed in water, when they are confined in hydrogen or nitrogen gas, or when the temperature is lower than that at which vegetation is checked. It can scarcely, therefore, be regarded in any other light than as a chemical effect unconnected with vegetation, or at least not necessarily dependent on it. On the other hand, as Mr. Ellis remarks, (p. 47.) plants live and

grow in situations from which light is wholly excluded, when of course the operation of the decomposition of carbonic acid and consequent evolution of oxygen is suspended, while that of the consumption of oxygen and formation of carbonic acid goes on.

“The experiments related in this and in the former treatise, (in which the consumption of oxygen, and production of carbonic acid were observed,) although they were not made under a direct exposure to the sun's rays, were conducted in open rooms where light had the freest access, and the plants assumed all the characteristic properties and appearances which were peculiar to them. It is likewise sufficiently evident, that even in our own climate, and especially in high northern latitudes, a vast number of plants live and flourish in natural situations, where the direct rays of the sun seldom or never penetrate; and yet, in such situations, they attain a state of perfect vegetation. How many hours also of our brightest days, and even how many entire days, are we deprived of the direct influence of the sun's rays, at the very season when vegetation is advancing with the greatest rapidity and vigour? If, indeed, this direct influence were essential to vegetation, many plants which we now behold, would never be produced at all, and all the tribes of vegetables would experience such frequent and continued checks to their growth, that, in our own climate at least, we could scarcely ever hope to see many of them attain to a state of maturity.”

We acknowledge that there is much force in these observations, and the opinion maintained by Mr. Ellis, that the consumption of oxygen and its conversion into carbonic acid are essential to vegetation, while the opposite changes under exposure to solar light are accidental and foreign to it, may be just: yet there still remains some degree of obscurity with regard to this subject. It is singular that plants should be capable of so changing the functions they exert with regard to the air, as to produce changes directly the reverse of each other; and still more, if the above view be just, of producing that change in the air, and suffering from its action the corresponding change which is least natural to them, not only without injury, but apparently with advantage; for although vegetation may proceed in the shade, it is undoubtedly less vigorous than under exposure to light; and the process appears at no time to be more perfect than under exposure to the rays of the sun. If the constant abstraction of carbon too be a necessary effect of vegetation, it adds considerably to the difficulty of accounting for the source whence that principle is supplied, especially in those situations in which it cannot be derived from the soil.

The younger Saussure, as the result of his researches on vege-

tation, has given a view somewhat different of the relation subsisting between those opposite changes produced by growing plants on the air. • He has supposed that they always consume oxygen and form carbonic acid, but that under exposure to light they also decompose this acid and evolve its oxygen; hence under such an exposure if they are placed in an atmosphere to which no carbonic acid has been added, it is neither deteriorated, nor is it rendered more pure; and this is the case too when they are placed alternately in the sun-shine and in the shade. But if the air in which they are placed contain a certain proportion of carbonic acid, and if they are exposed to solar light, the acid is decomposed and oxygen gas is evolved. Vegetation appears in this case, from Saussure's experiments, to be even more vigorous, at least if the proportion of carbonic acid be not too large; and the quantity of carbon in the vegetable is increased. And as atmospheric air always contains a portion of carbonic acid, Saussure has supposed that plants under exposure to light decompose it, and that part at least of the carbon, entering into the composition of the products of vegetation, is derived from this source.

Mr. Ellis appears to admit this view to a certain extent: we cannot give his opinion better than in the summary which he has presented of it:

“ From the facts which have been stated we collect that plants which vegetate in sun-shine require always the presence of oxygen gas, and that by the act of vegetation they constantly change this oxygen into carbonic acid. We farther learn, that carbonic acid enters plants both with the fluids which they absorb, and also under certain circumstances in an elastic form; that this acid gas is conveyed to the leaves, and is there decomposed by the joint operation of the plant and of solar light, and that it is from this source alone that the oxygen gas afforded by plants is derived. It likewise appears that this operation of affording oxygen is not properly a vegetative function, but only a subordinate office accomplished by the direct action of the sun; that it is carried on in the cellular or parenchymatous structure, and not in the vascular system of the leaf; and that it may and does exist with that function by which oxygen is consumed, and which is essential to the vegetation of the plant. Hence it is, that when plants are made to grow in closed vessels exposed to the sun, the oxygen gas which is consumed by the function of vegetation is again restored by the decomposition of the carbonic acid that is formed, and no change therefore appears to be effected in the composition of the air. But in situations where the direct agency of light is excluded, no decomposition of carbonic acid is perceptible, and the air therefore soon becomes unfit to sustain vegetation. In its general nature and effects therefore the function of vegetation is precisely the same in sun-shine and in the shade, for

oxygen gas is alike necessary in both situations, and is in a similar manner converted into carbonic acid. Under direct exposure to the solar rays, however, this acid gas is again decomposed, and its oxygen is restored to the atmosphere, while in the shade no such operation takes place, and the air therefore remains permanently depraved." (P. 108.)

Mr. Ellis only maintains, therefore, that the decomposition of carbonic acid is not essential to vegetation, nor useful to it. Now, although there are facts which support him in this conclusion, it is also, as we have remarked, involved in some difficulties, particularly in that of vegetation being most vigorous and perfect under exposure to solar light when this decomposition of carbonic acid does take place, and in that also of accounting for the supply of carbon to vegetables, when it is obvious (as it is in many cases) that they do not receive it from the soil. We do not contend that these are sufficient to invalidate his opinion, but we notice them as requiring elucidation; and we trust that Mr. Ellis will continue to prosecute an investigation highly interesting, as it relates to the theory of vegetation, and not less so perhaps in the practical applications to which it may ultimately lead,—an investigation, we may add, with the difficulties of which he is so well acquainted, and which he has shewn himself so well qualified to conduct.

The emission of oxygen takes place only from the green parts of plants when they are acted on by the solar rays; and it is a subordinate subject of enquiry of some interest, which Mr. Ellis has proposed to investigate, (p. 110) "why these parts are so exclusively concerned in this operation, and what are those peculiarities of structure or of composition which thus enable them to produce changes in the air, so different from those which all the other parts of the vegetables perform, even in sunshine, and so contrary to their own proper functions in the shade." The emission of oxygen gas by plants under exposure to solar light appears to arise in general, perhaps always, from the decomposition of carbonic acid which the plant has imbibed. Why then, Mr. Ellis inquires, should the decomposition of carbonic acid always attend the production of the green colour in plants, and why should their white colour appear always to be accompanied by the retention of that gas? Could we discover the connection between these facts, it might, perhaps, lead to an explanation of the cause of the green colour in plants.

The white colour of etiolated plants had been ascribed by Humboldt to the accumulation of oxygen; but the non-expulsion of oxygen, as Mr. Ellis has remarked in plants secluded from light, is no proof that the white colour is caused by its

operation; for previous to its expulsion it does not exist in the plant as free oxygen, but only in combination with carbon. He has advanced a different opinion, which we cannot help thinking extremely probable. The solutions of the green coloured matter of plants in alcohol lose their colour by the action of oxygen, and the oxygen disappears. This has been ascribed to the direct action of oxygen, and in proof of this, it has been remarked, that acids in excess discharge vegetable colours—an effect supposed to be produced by their yielding oxygen. Yet, as Mr. Ellis remarks, after Dr. Bancroft, muriatic acid in excess discharges these colours, though there is no probability in the supposition that it imparts oxygen; it acts therefore merely as an acid; and of course other acids in discharging these colours probably act in a similar manner. And when oxygen removes the green colour of vegetable infusions, may it not do so by combining with the carbon of the vegetable, and forming carbonic acid, which re-acts on the colouring matter? In conformity to this supposition, Mr. Ellis found that carbonic acid introduced into a green coloured solution discharged the colour, and this colour was in some measure restored by neutralizing the acid by an alkali. The green parts of plants, he further remarks, contain a considerable quantity of saline matter, and since the green colour is produced by the action of an alkali, it will appear in the living plant, from any operation of which a removal of acid, leaving an excess of alkali, is the result.

“The decomposition of carbonic acid in plants by the agency of solar light,” continues Mr. Ellis, (p. 128.) “seems to be the means employed by nature to accomplish this purpose; for by these means the acid is not only withdrawn from its combination and expelled, but the alkali is at the same instant rendered predominant, and exists in a state fitted to exert its specific action on the colourable juices of the leaf. The colouration of the leaf therefore is not immediately owing to the expulsion of oxygen, nor even to the subtraction of carbonic acid, but to the predominance of alkaline matter, which this subtraction of acid occasions; consequently the verdure succeeds to the decomposition of carbonic acid, and the evidence of that decomposition is the expulsion of oxygen gas. Hence therefore to speak correctly, we cannot so properly say that the green leaf affords oxygen, as that it becomes green when that gas is expelled; and thus it is that the decomposition of carbonic acid by solar light gives rise at once to the production of oxygen gas, and to the formation of the green colour in plants.”

The various tints of colour which the leaves of plants assume at certain seasons, or in particular states of maturity, Mr. Ellis supposes to be owing to the predominance of alkaline or acid matter; the green and yellow arising from the former, the red

from the latter. The same causes he supposes to give rise to the colours of flowers.

Mr. Ellis has devoted a section to the inquiry in what manner light acts in producing the changes in the chemical constitution of vegetable matter, and whence these changes of colour arise. He endeavours to shew that there is an analogy in the chemical action of the rays which compose solar light, and of the two electricities, positive and negative—the calorific rays in the solar beam producing chemical combinations analogous to those which positive electricity produces, and the chemical rays, as they have been denominated, giving rise to chemical decompositions similar to those which arise from the action of negative electricity; they operate therefore, he conceives, in producing by a similar mode of action the decomposition of the carbonic acid, the oxygen of which assumes the elastic form and is disengaged, while its carbon is retained—this decomposition being aided by the state of condensation in which the carbonic acid exists in the plant, and hence being capable of being affected, though the acid in its electric form is not decomposed by the agency of light alone. We are doubtful if the chemical agencies of the rays of light are yet sufficiently understood to admit of a theory altogether satisfactory on this subject.

Mr. Ellis had in the first part of his treatise shewn by a very ample induction, that in all the classes of animals, from the lowest in the scale of existence to those of the most complicated and perfect organization, the changes produced on the air by the function of respiration are the same; to all of them oxygen is absolutely necessary, and this oxygen is converted into carbonic acid. This induction he has confirmed in the present treatise by a number of additional facts from different authorities. It further appears, that the quantity of carbonic acid formed corresponds with the quantity of oxygen consumed, that there is no additional consumption of oxygen, and also that there is no consumption of the nitrogen of the air. The air therefore is not changed in volume by respiration, and the only change is that of its oxygen into a proportional quantity of carbonic acid. Results different from these, which have been supposed to be established, appear to have arisen from errors in the experiments.

In the consideration of the function of animal respiration, the principal novelty, in the view which Mr. Ellis has given, is that of supposing that the conversion of the oxygen of the air into carbonic acid takes place exterior to the minute ramifications of the pulmonary artery, in which the change of venous to arterial blood is effected, and that this conversion is not necessarily

connected with that change. The oxygen is converted into carbonic acid evidently by receiving carbon, and with regard to the mode in which this is effected, different hypotheses have been advanced, some supposing an elastic compound of carbon and hydrogen to be evolved from the venous blood, circulating through the minute branches of the pulmonary artery, which combines with the oxygen of the air inspired; others having imagined that the oxygen of the air is absorbed by the blood, and either directly combines with a portion of its carbon forming carbonic acid gas, which passing through the thin coats of these minute blood vessels is discharged, or is combined more slowly in the course of the circulation with carbon; the carbonic acid formed from this combination being retained in solution by the venous blood, and discharged from it when a fresh quantity of oxygen is absorbed in the lungs. But in all these hypotheses, the conversion of the oxygen into carbonic acid is supposed to be by the communication of carbon from venous blood, and the abstraction of this carbon is considered as an essential change connected with the conversion of that blood to the arterial state, and probably adapted to important purposes in the animal economy. Mr. Ellis denies the possibility of the transmission of elastic fluids through the coats of the minute vessels, either from the air into the blood, or from the blood to the air; he considers the air therefore as incapable of acting (at least by any of its ponderable principles) on the blood circulating through the lungs; and to account for the conversion of the oxygen of the inspired air into carbonic acid, he supposes that carbon is communicated to it by the exhalents of the lungs. Our limits will not allow us to enter on any minute discussion of this question. Mr. Ellis supports his opinion with much ingenuity, but we confess we still incline to the common opinion; we can only, however, offer a few remarks.

First, it is obvious, that according to Mr. Ellis's hypothesis, there is no connection between the principal change produced on the air by respiration—the conversion of its oxygen into carbonic acid, and the apparently corresponding change of venous into arterial blood. This change can be perceived taking place in the minute branches, forming the terminations of the pulmonary artery, and the commencement of the pulmonary veins; but the exhalents pass altogether by distinct branches from the pulmonary artery, and it is only by carbon communicated from *their* extremities that the oxygen of the air is, according to Mr. Ellis's opinion, converted into carbonic acid. The one process, therefore, appears to have no connection with the other. Now this strikes us as a strong improbability.—The abstraction of car-

hon, the mode conceived by our author, appears to be in a great measure an accidental effect, depending on the action of the oxygen of the air on the *halitus* of the exhalents, or the effused fluid on the surface of the bronchia; an action which it would equally exert, as Mr. Ellis has remarked, on any other animal fluid or moist solid, and which has no connection with any change in the composition of the blood. But when we consider the quantity thus abstracted, and the provision made for its abstraction in all classes of animals, we are disposed to regard it as a more important effect, and connected with changes in the composition of the blood, adapted to essential purposes in the animal system. The only use of respiration, according to Mr. Ellis's view, as he intimated at the end of his treatise, is to communicate a portion of heat to the blood, and even this it does only by an indirect process, and as the result of what may be regarded as an accidental effect. On this system, or indeed on any other opinion than that the blood is designed to be submitted to the chemical action of the air, we perceive no adequate cause for the complicated structure of the respiratory organs in the more perfect animals.

The change of properties produced in the blood in its circulation through the lungs, a change not connected with the mere secretion by the exhalents, since it obviously takes place in its passage through vessels distinct from these, is to us a proof of the chemical action of the air upon it. The change of colour Mr. Ellis may perhaps ascribe to the communication of caloric through the blood vessels. Were this caloric to produce even the whole elevation of temperature, which but for the corresponding change of capacity it would produce, we should doubt if it could give rise to this effect; but as the temperature is not raised, or not more than one or two degrees, we cannot admit that it will produce ~~this~~ change, or that the abstraction of this latent caloric, as it may be named, will produce the corresponding change of colour, when the blood passes, in the course of the circulation, into the venous state. It is equally inadequate, we think, to account for the change in the stimulating quality of the blood, which is so necessary to sustain life. And further, we would ask, what gives rise to the change in the capacity of the blood itself for caloric, a change experimentally proved, and which can only be referred to a change of composition?

The difficulty which Mr. Ellis urges, as attending the supposition of the direct chemical action of the air on the blood, from the necessity of supposing that elastic fluids can permeate the coats of the blood vessels, we cannot regard as important. Every humid substance, that is, every body penetrated with

humidity through its entire mass, is, we believe, permeable to elastic fluids, and altogether incapable of completely excluding or confining them. Animal membrane, even in the comparatively thick and dense state, for example, of a bladder is sufficiently known to be permeable to gases; and we see no force in the distinction, with regard to this effect, between the living and dead solid, since it is a property connected with mere mechanical structure and the influence of humidity, of the suspension of which, by the presence of life, we see no proof. We consider the blood, therefore, in circulating through the very minute vessels, and over the very extensive surface of the lungs, as exposed to the action of the air, nearly as freely as if the delicate membrane containing it were not interposed; especially as the passage of the air through that membrane, and its consequent approximation to the blood, must be aided by the degree of compression which it suffers in the air cells from the force exerted in inspiration; the oxygen of that air having an affinity with the carbon of the blood, will in this approximation combine with it, and form carbonic acid; and when, in the alternating abatement of that compression, expiration begins to take place, the carbonic acid, formed as we have just stated, will be disengaged, and become elastic. We agree, therefore, with Mr. Ellis, in rejecting the hypothesis, that the oxygen gas is absorbed by the blood, carried by it through the whole course of the circulation, and converted into carbonic acid, which is discharged from the venous blood when it passes through the lungs. But we see no difficulty in the supposition that the oxygen of the air may, as above explained, act on the blood in the lungs and combine with its carbon, and that the carbonic acid formed by this combination may be immediately discharged in its elastic form.

Lastly, we would remark, that the transmission of elastic fluids through the coats of the blood vessels in the lungs appears to us to be established by the effects which arise from the inspiration of various gases. By some, it is known, that death is induced more speedily than happens from the mere deprivation of oxygen, and the irritability of the heart is found to be even completely destroyed by them, effects which we do not think admit of an adequate explanation from any supposed action of these gases on the nerves of the lungs, but which must be ascribed to their action by the medium of the blood. The exhilarating effects from the inspiration of nitrous oxide gas appear to us a proof not less conclusive, which we cannot consider as much weakened by our author's observations, with regard to the uncertainty in the production of this effect, or to

effects somewhat similar being produced by the inspiration of some other gases.

On the whole, therefore, we should be disposed still to maintain the opinion, that the oxygen of the air acts chemically on the blood in the lungs, and that probably the most important final purpose of respiration is, by this action, to produce the necessary changes in the composition of the blood.

Mr. Ellis, we think, is successful in contending that in respiration there is no consumption of oxygen gas, beyond what is necessary to the formation of the carbonic acid expired, that there is none therefore absorbed by the blood so as to be retained: the apparent consumption of oxygen beyond this, when respiration is performed under circumstances which render it laborious, is probably owing, as he remarks, to the respiratory organs being unable to effect so complete an expulsion of the air as in natural respiration. He has also examined the experiments, whence it was inferred, that there is a consumption of nitrogen gas in respiration, as well as some others more recently brought forward, as proving an evolution of this gas from the blood under peculiar circumstances of respiration. We consider the conclusion for which he contends as sufficiently established—that there is neither an absorption nor an evolution. That there is no absorption had been shewn by the accurate experiments of Allen and Pepys: the evolution which other experiments by these chemists appeared to prove, Mr. Ellis regards as a fallacy, arising from the operation of the residual air of the lungs; and he gives a very ingenious explanation of the fact, apparently inconsistent with this hypothesis, that in those experiments in which the evolution of nitrogen was supposed to take place, the air expired exceeded even in volume the capacity of the lungs: This he supposes to arise from the circumstance, that the air, instead of being expanded, is actually condensed by its reception into the cells of the lungs, a condensation that may arise either from a contraction of these cells, or more probably, as Mr. Ellis supposes, from the influence of that attraction or adhesion exerted between air and the surfaces of bodies, which gives rise to its condensation in other cases where it is received into the interstices of porous bodies; of which effect charcoal, in its operation on elastic fluids, affords a striking example. The influence of this condensation, which has not been before attended to, may further be important in the production of some of the effects of respiration; it may facilitate the combination of the oxygen and carbon in the lungs; and it serves to account for those variations which happen in the relative volumes of inspired and expired air, and of the oxygen and

nitrogen of that air, when natural respiration is disturbed by causes which induce a preternatural exertion of the respiratory organs.

We must now conclude our account of this work, and we cannot do so without expressing our sense of the importance of the researches it presents, and the ability with which they have been conducted. Its details throw new light, and open fresh analogies, calculated to elucidate the grandeur and uniformity of the great Creator's works; and it may serve as a valuable link in that long chain of discovery which has been reserved for the present day; and of which we hope to give some account in our next number. Nor can we withhold our approbation of the candour and liberality which distinguish Mr. Ellis's work.* We have differed in some points from the author, but this lessens not our respect for his talents, nor our confidence that important results may be obtained from his further pursuit of this investigation. His plan leads him to the consideration of the effects which arise from the introduction into the vegetable and animal systems, of the caloric set free from the combination of oxygen with carbon; he intimates some intention of prosecuting this subject, and we trust that he will find, in the reception of the present volume, sufficient inducement to carry this intention into execution.

ART. VII. *Memoirs of the Honourable Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Vice President and President of the United States of America; containing a concise History of those States, from the Acknowledgment of their Independence. With a View of the Rise and Progress of French Influence and French Principles in that Country.* • Two vols. octavo, New York, 1809.

IN the first number of the British Review, we had (we can hardly say) the satisfaction of laying before our readers a detailed statement of the facilities which the French party in America have found in the principles of its constitution, for the prosecution of their schemes against the British connection, and the prosperity of their own country. Every thing which we have since seen, and read, and heard upon the subject, has tended to fortify in our minds the justness of the conclusions then drawn, and to convince us, that unless a radical change take place in the American system of politics, a crisis must at length arise in this in-

interesting country, that must either dissolve the Federal Union, or lead to such an improvement of its constitution, as will allow of a steady and rational system of government. We are far, however, from imputing *generally* to the leaders of the French party in the United States a sordid view of sacrificing what they think to be the real interests of their country, to private considerations of profit and ambition;—we believe them to be more frequently dupes than traitors; and that the French agents have succeeded in persuading them, that the commercial advantages, springing from friendly intercourse with England, and which French connection must oblige them to forego, are the result of a false view of policy in their actual state of society. They have been taught to believe, that their country will advance faster in the career of wealth and substantial power, by turning all the energies of its population to the improvement of its extensive territory, leaving the products to be exported in the ships of the commercial nations of Europe, and confining its own exertions to the mere defence of its coasts from insult. We must in particular do Mr. Jefferson the justice to observe, that during his first residence in Paris, M. Turgot and the economists were in the zenith of their credit; and that a man of Mr. Jefferson's character and confined abilities was very likely to become the sincere dupe of their plausible theories, and to believe that he would do his country good service, by making it the subject of a practical experiment of their truth.

The Americans have also been taught to believe, that the naval power of Great Britain is the only obstacle to the establishment of an universal and permanent freedom of navigation in time of war; a claim which Great Britain has steadily and uniformly opposed, while almost every other power of Europe has at some time or other, ~~from~~ motives of temporary and delusive policy, acceded to it. And the Americans, although dupes to this fallacious expectation, have sagacity enough to perceive, that they would almost solely reap the advantages of the freedom of navigation, were the European powers to carry it into effect. Experience might, indeed, have taught the Americans, (and has certainly taught the wisest of them), not to put too much confidence in such a system of immunity, since the powers which were most strenuous in its support have never failed to trench upon its privileges whenever they were found inconvenient.

The Americans, under sufferance of the British fleets, might possess the carrying trade of France from all quarters of the world, while Britain carries for herself; and this may be one cause of their partiality to France. But do they suppose, if

the British fleet were out of the way, or, as the French express it, the liberty of the seas were established, that France would permit them for one year to continue the same carrying trade? Let them coolly answer this question, and they will then clearly perceive that the advantages held out by France must escape their grasp, from the instant when the destruction or dereliction of the British supremacy at sea has, in their opinion, placed them within reach. They are, therefore, contending for a shadow, which neither the destruction or preservation of the British supremacy can enable them to realize in substance.

But, abstractedly speaking, it must be confessed that their view of territorial policy (if we may so call it) is really plausible; although we do not quite perceive what France, possessing no commercial navy, would gain by the change, beyond that of substituting one species of tie to the English connexion for another. Whether America carries on her trade, or trusts for the sale of the raw products of her territory to the commercial navies of Europe, the nation which commands the sea must equally command her friendship; for we can hardly suppose the majority of them absurd enough to fancy that a gradual separation from all foreign connections, and a reliance on internal improvements, without a foreign market, like the policy of China and Japan, can be seriously applicable to their country at this time of day, though they have been often mentioned as models for imitation. It is therefore an imposition, too gross to be carried down, even by strong French predilection, that, although the above-mentioned view of policy be just, it affords ground for supposing that the United States can safely exchange the friendship of England for that of France.

But although it be true that the Americans may safely lie supine, like the rhinoceros, and fatten under the shade of their own forests; repelling, at the same time, from their well protected exterior the shafts of hostility; it does not by any means follow that an enlightened statesman would advise them to pursue that course. An increase of brute force, unaccompanied by civilization, was never yet considered as a legitimate object of a nation's ambition; and it is only necessary to compare the moral condition of the New England States with that of Virginia, to decide upon the results of the two systems; and to be convinced of the reasons which have induced France, subsisting as it does upon the moral no less than the political ruin of other countries, to use all its means towards assimilating the whole federal union to the condition of that southern state.

It has indeed been supposed that the different mode in which trade has been carried on by the southern and eastern states of

America, is the effect and not the cause of the difference of their moral and political situation. On this we shall not dispute: we are perfectly ready to admit what is certainly true, that they differ in soil and climate more than any two countries in Europe; they differ in the character and religious principles of the original settlers; above all, they differ in this, that in the one the system of slave cultivation is established—in the other, industry is free.

From these differences arises a strong contrast of moral character. The New Englandmen are strict in their religious observances; to a degree which we should be apt to consider as formal and bigotted. Freemen and republicans *upon principle*, of the old English, not of the modern Gallic school; just rather than liberal; cool, and cautious in their conduct; simple, and somewhat rough in their manners; hardy, enterprising, and industrious; seeking from the sea those supplies of food, which their severe climate and unproductive soil but scantily afford; and pursuing the advantages of navigation in every corner of the world.

The Virginians, and other inhabitants of the southern states, on the contrary, partake largely of the vices with which the masters of a race of slaves are ever liable to be infected. Open disregard of religion, shameless licentiousness of manners, laxity of moral principle and conduct, occasioned by that habitual neediness, which is the consequence of careless profusion, are proverbially ascribed to them by their countrymen. To these are added a coarseness and vulgarity of manners and conversation; an excessive spirit of gambling, indulged in every way; and a propensity to personal conflicts, more cruel and disgraceful than are endured in any other country, and which seem to excite the universal disgust of travellers.

After reading this character of the Virginians, whose party has lately borne such unbounded sway in the union, we shall be no longer surprised at the aversion for all national banks, and for every institution calculated to insure to the creditors of the state the payment of their just demands, which is so notoriously prevalent among the French or *agricultural* party. Hence the too frequent selection of persons to fill the office of statesmen, who are disposed to treat with ours as if they were as dishonest and disingenuous as themselves, and who never believe us to be in earnest. If we use many words, and speak or act not merely with civility and respect, but in a tone of conciliation, they are instantly informed, by an analogy furnished from their own minds, that we are sorely afraid of them. They know that we justly value them as perhaps our best customers; but from this they infer, too positively to be convinced of the contrary by any

thing but facts, that in estimating the advantage of being well with them, we cherish a dread of quarrelling, too great to be counterbalanced by any sentiment of regard for national dignity or permanent interest. With minds thus constituted, our object should be rather to ensure their respect than to aim at acquiring their affection. In our transactions with them the maxim should be religiously observed, never for one moment to advance an unfair pretension; and never, most certainly *never* (but as a matter of *acknowledged* favour) to recede from an obvious right.

In making this statement concerning the Virginian, or rather the French party, we beg that we may not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to extend it to every individual in the Southern States. We know, and with pleasure admit, that they contain many persons of honourable feelings, with well informed minds, of upright conduct, and with American interests truly at heart; men who, aware that national honour is a main constituent of national strength, will submit to no insult or injustice from England; but for the same reason hold the modern French connection in the utmost horror and contempt. That the political deviations of the French party, and their ruinous consequences, will at length open the eyes of the people (if they are not already opened) and ultimately throw the power into the hands of this moderate and enlightened band of patriots, we cannot avoid hoping. Them therefore we should endeavour to conciliate to our just views, by every demonstration of candour and forbearance; and for this reason we confess that we have perused with considerable pain certain well written, but rather too satirical documents, to which the British official signature has been annexed. That we may not add to this irritation in the present delicate state of affairs, we shall carefully abstain from entering into any discussion of the grounds of dispute now subsisting between the two countries. We shall confine our endeavours, in this paper, to the object of preparing the minds of our readers for fully comprehending such a discussion (when it may be safely entered upon) by briefly tracing through the work before us the origin and the current of that strong political bias among the Americans, which seems to be assisting the genius of evil, in driving two nations, made for each other's felicity, into a ruinous and unnatural war.

But our readers will probably think that it is high time to take some notice of the work before us.

These memoirs (of which we believe that only this copy has found its way to England) are, like every thing now written on politics in America, a party production. But the strong ground of fact upon which the author has proceeded gives nevertheless

considerable value to his work, and we do not know that there is any where to be found so good a connected sketch of the history of the United States since their independence. The biography of living characters seems to labour under fewer difficulties in America than with us. There is a certain callousness about the feelings of public men in that country, with respect to the most atrocious accusations conveyed through the medium of the press, and an unbounded licence of personality and coarseness is indulged, without any apparent dread of public or private vengeance,—of legal or corporeal correction. Neither truth, nor even falsehood itself, can constitute, as it would seem, a libel in America. We can account for this apathy in no other way, than by supposing that the number of readers is so small, or party-feeling so strongly predominant, that a man may still retain all his influence in society, although convicted, from the press, of notorious folly or corruption. For we should be somewhat unwilling to admit, that there is a point in the progress of the *freedom* of the press that annihilates all the real uses of its *liberty*, by taking away the confidence entertained under a well regulated system in the truth of an unprosecuted and unanswered assertion. But this must evidently be the case, where plausible falsehoods on important subjects can be, or are, in fact, published with perfect impunity.

The Honourable Thomas Jefferson is a native of Virginia, and during the struggle of the colonies for their independence possessed considerable influence in his own state, of which he had been governor. To this post he had risen chiefly by his intellectual exertions, which, however they might at other times and in other places have been estimated, were then and there held to be considerable. In his government, he is said to have discovered more of the character of a cautious than of a wise statesman, and to have possessed a character in most respects the reverse of General Washington. He was one of a committee appointed to draw up the "declaration of independence," and to him has the merit of that production been generally ascribed, with some degree of truth; for the rough draft of it was certainly his, which the committee retrenched and corrected with a liberal hand. He seems to have imbibed all those prejudices and predilections which such a career might naturally be supposed to engender; that is to say, a blind hatred to England, (who, in truth, was too responsible, by the misconduct of her government or her statesmen, for the American revolution, and all its present consequences in Europe); and an ardent and equally blind devotion to France, who, when she saw that her enemy by her misconduct had actually lost her colonies, bestowed her kick upon the jaws of the

sick lion, and assumed the merit and the reward of having produced the catastrophe.

It is not surprising that men such as we have described the Virginians, shackled in the trammels of politics, should have fully received these impressions. They were at the first burst of independence very generally spread over the United States.

“ No people had ever greater cause to be proud, none had before them a fairer promise to be happy, after many years of sanguinary trouble, to pass into a state of peace, security, and rest ;—to be relieved from unspeakable hardships and privations ; to rise from dependence upon another and a far distant country, with all its subjections and restraints, into a state of self-government and exemption from foreign controul ; and to be left to the free choice of its own government, laws, and institutions, was a condition in which no enlightened people had ever before been found ; and was not only sufficient to fill them with immediate exultation and joy, and with the most happy forebodings of the future, but might naturally be expected to push their hopes and their pride a little beyond the bounds of moderation. To men of unexercised minds, of little reflection, and of superficial knowledge, all around seemed lovely and felicitous ; and to the people, with very few exceptions, nothing seemed more impossible than that their harmony should be interrupted, that their happiness should be endangered for ages, or that any thing could arise to deprive them of the benefits and blessings they had obtained with the revolution. Thus thought the many, and thus it was natural for the many to think. They imagined that the supreme power being now at the disposal of a jealous people, from whom it could not be wheedled by fraud or flattery, nor wrested by force, would follow the natural course of the human heart, and find its way into the hands of the most deserving ; and at the outset of the republic it was so. But time unfolded new views to the multitude. Every day gave them a stronger sense of their own power, and greater inclination to evince it by abuse. It was soon perceived that that which was unappropriated to any, might be aspired to by all ; and the lower classes of ambitious men, and vulgar politicians, who felt themselves excluded by want of desert from all participation in power, resolved to make up their deficiency in merit, by fraud and imposition ; and to disturb and pollute the stream of public opinion, which so long as it continued to roll in its natural purity, would run in favour of the most meritorious citizens.” (*Memoirs, &c.* vol. 1. p. 12, et seq.)

The licentious principles established by the French revolution, and previously disseminated no where with greater diligence than in the United States, lent great facilities to such a system of corruption. Nor was the early and absolute treachery of France sufficient to stem the torrent. In the Congress there existed a strong party warmly disposed to subject the interests of the United States to France, although they well knew that

she had, during the negotiations for peace, disclosed a policy hostile to the independence of America; had opposed her claim to the fisheries and to the navigation of the Mississippi; had even urged the British ministry to refuse to negotiate with them, as an independent people, but to treat them still as revolted colonies; and in a word, had plainly manifested a design to cajole the States into a surrender of themselves to France, in the same relation which they had before the war borne to Great Britain.

The federal government was no sooner established with Washington at its head, than it was found to be too weak for any efficient purpose. No means existed for establishing a system of national defence; none for internal civil regulations; none for providing a revenue to discharge the public debts incurred in pursuit of independence; none to promote national improvement, or to make preparations for encountering future exigencies. But nothing could be more acceptable to the party to which we have just alluded than such a state of things. Good government and the payment of just debts were very far from being the objects of their wishes; particularly as the British were in many cases the creditors, and by an ill considered article in the treaty of peace, entitled to a large sum from the American debtors, for the payment of which their government stood pledged. This state of the public mind naturally gave rise to two parties in the state: the federal party, anxious to establish such a government as would repress the licence of the people, and enable responsible functionaries to fulfil the public engagements, and to act efficiently for the welfare of the state;—and the democratic party, desirous of an appeal to the people upon every trivial occasion, and of establishing their influence by flattering the passions of the vulgar, by holding out to them a freedom from their debts, a relaxation in the administration of justice, and a remission in the payment of taxes, and by continually fomenting differences and encouraging the opposition of the state sovereignties against their superior sovereign, the general government. At the head of the former party were General Washington, Colonel Hamilton, Mr. Fisher Ames, and other great and good characters: at the head of the latter Mr. Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and many of those who since the death of General Washington have borne a principal part in the management of American affairs. As the poor, the idle, the profligate, and the unprincipled, constitute a large portion of the motley community of America, the democratic party found a complete majority in many of the states; and although General Washington and the federalists succeeded in new modelling the articles of confederation, yet the incessant satiries against assimilating their govern-

ment to the TYRANNY! of England from which they had escaped,—obliged them to leave so much leaven in the mass, that the greater part has at length fermented into that body of corruption, which we described at length in our first number.

But to return to Mr. Jefferson. His first great employment under the new government was in the embassy to France, at the head of which he was immediately placed by President Washington, purposely to show his gratitude to that government by sending to them one of their own partisans. It was one of the cardinal political maxims of that great statesman, to which he at last fell a victim, to preserve a perfect impartiality towards all parties at home and all countries abroad. This induced him to send Mr. Jefferson to France, who, during his residence there, associated principally with the democratic leaders; and upon his return on leave of absence after a residence of some years in that country, to appoint him secretary of state for foreign affairs; and to associate with him, as another secretary of state, Mr. E. Randolph, a Virginian lawyer, not highly respected even in his own country, and who was afterwards dismissed for having become, by means of corruption, a secret agent of France*.

These two persons were of Washington's cabinet council, together with two others (of whom the celebrated Colonel Hamilton was one), who were decidedly opposed in opinions and views to the others. So that the two great parties in the state were not only represented in Congress, but *absolutely*, and nearly upon equal terms in the government. It may well be supposed, that upon this system nothing could go on smoothly. Upon every measure of government the cabinet was divided, and in the heat of contention the members could not be supposed to keep its secrets from their respective partisans. Between secretaries Hamilton and Jefferson in particular, an unappeasable disagreement arose.—The former, though a zealous republican, was the advocate for a government armed with sufficient power to protect itself from the effects of intestine discord or of foreign hostility—the latter found it necessary to his views, both with respect to his own country and France, to pursue an opposite conduct. The first open contest between them was in forming the commercial regulations of the union. One party, with Mr. Jefferson at its head, wished to turn the channel of trade in favour of France by discriminating duties,—the other, with Colonel

* It is necessary to state, that this is not Mr. I. Randolph, who is said to be now the greatest orator and one of the most upright men in congress; some of whose speeches we have read with great satisfaction.

Hamilton, maintained that discriminations were unjust, and that they amounted to a tax on American agriculture, and a bounty on the navigation and manufactures of a favoured foreign nation. In support of his party, Mr. Jefferson took into his pay a daily paper called the *National Gazette*; and exhibited to his country the unprecedented and disgraceful example of a secretary of state countenancing, nay, often as it is said, composing libels against the government of which he formed a part. The people however, as usual in such cases, soon settled the question concerning the commercial restrictions; they took the liberty to purchase that which they preferred. To borrow the idea of a celebrated satirical essayist, "The People of America still liked a shirt to their ruffle;" they still preferred the plain, neat, solid, and durable manufactures of England to the frippery of France, and it was soon found useless to contend with their predilections.

It would be an unnecessary and disgusting task to follow the footsteps of the French party to the final completion of their views. The regular progress from cruel outrage upon the persons of their opponents, (many of whom were maimed, robbed, or tarred and feathered,) to positive insurrection, was religiously observed. But there is one circumstance which we cannot avoid citing, as a valuable precedent for the use of our own democratic assemblies. A meeting at Pittsburgh avowed, that "they thought it their duty to persist in remonstrances to congress, and in every legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law." If there be any abstract merit in mere originality, it is certainly due to the idea of *obstructing law by legal measures*.

We pass over the two presidencies of Washington and the inconsistent one of Mr. Adams;—during which the active partizans of the French were busily engaged in gaining over the mob; sometimes with perfect success, at others, as in the case of the French minister Genêt, venturing a little too far, even for a Virginian mob. This minion of Robespierre actually assumed the airs of a rival sovereign, treated president Washington with the greatest insolence, and had it not been for his coolness and patience, who quietly gave the Frenchman rope till (to use a vulgar expression) he had hanged himself, another insurrection would probably have ensued. It is worthy of remark, that this Frenchman, with the assistance of the democratic clubs formed under his auspices, left no exertion untried to drive America into a war with England, in support of the principle that free vessels make free goods, which has been the constant object of contention ever since. And it is still more remarkable, that Mr. Jef-

fereson, the very Mr. Jefferson who has since, at the nod of Bonaparte, influenced his country to act upon that outrageous French doctrine, did, in answer to an official letter of M. Genêt's on the subject, maintain and strenuously argue in defence of the opposite principle, and did insist without reservation or exception, that "BY THE LAW OF NATIONS, THE GOODS OF AN ENEMY FOUND IN THE VESSELS OF A FRIEND WERE LAWFUL PRIZE." We should be glad to know what magic has since altered the law of nations in Mr. Jefferson's opinion. That he did think it, however *completely inverted*, his whole conduct in the president's chair offers one continued proof.

No sooner was he installed in this high office, than he forthwith dismissed from all official stations the functionaries of the federalist party; openly assigning as his reason, that, "it was necessary for all officers to think with their principal." Having thus new-modelled the machine of government to his will, he threw off every former restraint, and openly avowed himself the advocate of all the pretensions set up by France against the commerce and existence of England, and we think that we cannot afford a better illustration of this career and its results, in the shapes of non-intercourse, permanent embargo, and bankruptcy, than by the following prophetic observations of Mr. Uriah Tracy of Connecticut delivered in congress, on some resolutions of Mr. Madison's against the commerce of England, during General Washington's presidency.

"One would think," said he, "to hear the declarations in this house, that all men were fed at the opening of our hand; and if we shut that hand, the nations starve; and if we but shake the fist after it is shut, they die;—and yet one accusation against Great Britain, is her *prohibiting* the importation of *bread stuff* while under a certain price."

"But there is a very serious aspect in which this subject ought to be viewed. The products of America grow in other soils but hers. The demands for them may be supplied by other countries. Indeed in some instances, articles usually obtained from the United States would be excluded by a fair competition with the same articles furnished by other countries; and it was the discrimination made in their favour by the British government, that enabled them to obtain a preference in the British market. By withholding those which are of the growth of the United States, Great Britain would not lose the article, but America would lose the market; and a formidable rival would be raised up, who would last much longer than the resolutions under consideration." (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 192.)

But we are now beginning to tread upon tender ground; and

shall therefore proceed to observe in general terms, that from the period at which Mr. Jefferson was firmly seated in the government up to the present moment, the United States have uniformly exhibited the strongest partiality to France, and antipathy to England. "Every act of the British government is viewed by that of America through a distorted medium, and converted if possible into a topic of reproach and invective; while on the other hand the most flagrant acts of injustice on the part of France are either passed over in total silence, or studiously extenuated by those towards whom they are directed.*" This antipathy England has unfortunately shewed no disposition to conquer by conciliatory measures, of a nature that might have been adopted without injuring our real interests. The Americans, all republican as they are, would have been highly pleased to have seen at their seat of government an English ambassador of high rank and distinction. The more sensible and discreet among them would have hailed with satisfaction the arrival of a minister respectable for age, and for tried and acknowledged talents. But the extent to which we have disappointed both these views need not be pointed out.

If the two countries, however, are now disposed to conciliation, it would be wise to dismiss all retrospective views on both sides. They had better contemplate with cooler heads and warmer hearts than have hitherto been employed in the controversy, what each would lose by war, what each would gain by peace. Let America consider her yet limited population, her inadequate establishments, her unprotected ships, her precarious commerce, her infant and insufficient finances. Let England take a prospective view of Canada in danger, the West Indies turbulent, the sea covered with American privateers, and an extensive market lost. Let the Americans again, as an honest and thinking people, reflect, that if England falls, the combined armies and navies of all Europe, wielded by France for the subjugation of America, will be brought into contact with her shores, and can her population repel the shock? And let them further reflect, that England *must fall*, if she give up a particle of her maritime rights, in the present state of the

* We have extracted this passage from a pamphlet just published, by the Messrs. Ballantype of Edinburgh, which was put into our hands after this article was prepared for the press. It is entitled "A View of the State of Parties in the United States of America, being an Attempt to account for the present Ascendancy of the French, or democratic Party, in that Country." We do not agree in all the author's positions, but think his production replete with sound sense, and being the work of a gentleman who has recently visited the United States, it is well worthy of the public attention.

European continent, and be *seriously crippled* in her exertions against the common enemy, if the weight of America, and the privation of her custom, are thrown into the scale of hostility. But as the last is the less evil of the two, England must choose it if reduced to the alternative; for she had better die in the trenches, than capitulate with her barbarous and overbearing enemy.

England, therefore, both for her own sake, and for that of America (when American interests are well considered), cannot give up a particle of her maritime rights. But saving this point, we trust that she will hold out to this irritable people every reasonable and conciliatory proposition, that she will not suffer the cause of morality and good order, and the eventual happiness of the world to be put in jeopardy for a point of national pride, when national honour is not implicated.

If the Virginian party do not appreciate this conduct, the New England party will, and we shall find the advantage, should the French at length prove strong enough to force on hostilities, in spite of proposals on our part founded in reason and justice, and maintained upon the system and principles to be deduced from the preceding pages. For we trust that we shall not be suspected, after what is written in the early part of this article, of counselling the purchase of apparent security by any, even the smallest, dereliction of national honour, or even by any considerable sacrifice of national interests, so far as they are consistent with justice and the law of nations.

We trust that we have now, in some degree, afforded to our readers a clue that will lead them through the intricate labyrinths of misrepresentation, in which the details of our American politics are involved, up to the original causes of the mischief; and that whatever may be the result of the present discussions between the two countries, a dispassionate man will perceive in it the consequence of events, with which he has acquired some familiarity, and upon which he possesses the means of forming something like a fair judgment.

After again and again urging the obvious truth, that the ruin of England must be speedily followed by the subjugation of the United States (for a time at least), by France, we think that the following passage, (which we shall cite in conclusion, from a sensible pamphlet published about three years ago*), will prove that madness only can drive them into war with England, since they must be both immediate and ultimate sufferers by the

* Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride, or British, American, and West Indian Interests considered. By Mr. Medford, 1807.

consequences; and that there are views of policy equally clear for abstinence and conciliation on the part of England.

"America is a new and rising country; its progress, which is unprecedentedly rapid, may be retarded, but it cannot be stopped; therefore whatever bad consequences may result, they will be but momentary. It is not so with Britain, which is a country already risen so high, that the question is not to rise higher, but to remain as it is. Should hostilities with America prove seriously injurious to England, they may never be remedied; thus the case is of much more importance to Britain than it is to America. I mean not to say that America may not suffer most severely in the first instance, but the consequences can only be transitory; whereas, with respect to Britain, they may be such as never to be done away."

Considering this author's perfect acquaintance with America, his transatlantic predilections, but his ignorance or forgetfulness of the fatal consequences likely to result to the United States from the ruin or subjugation of England;—we think this extract quite conclusive as to America, and not unworthy the serious attention of a British statesman.

AET. VIII. *An Inquiry into the Consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer Book with the Bible. Interspersed with Remarks on some late Speeches at Cambridge, and other important Matter relative to the British and Foreign Bible Society.* By Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cambridge, Deighton, Nicholson, and Barret. London, Rivington. Octavo, pp. 80. 1812.

ALTHOUGH the space which we usually allot to subjects of a religious nature is already occupied in this number, with matter too important to be omitted in favour of any other, yet the pamphlet before us, from the powers of reasoning displayed, appears calculated to make so many false impressions on timid minds, and to check the progress of so much and such extensive good, that we cannot possibly let the occasion pass, without using every exertion which our limits will allow, to point out what appears to us to be the errors of the novel objections contained in it,—leaving to a future opportunity the full discussion of the extensive operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society. We confess, however, that our previous respect for the author of this pamphlet lays us under some difficulties con-

cerning the mode of treating its contents. When we see persons, to whose soundness of judgment, and acuteness of reasoning, we have been accustomed to defer, advocating a cause which appears to our limited capacities to be absolutely unsupported by the principles of common sense, we cannot, in general, help suspecting that the fault lies in the density of our perceptions; and even after a long and anxious scrutiny of the grounds upon which our judgment rests, it is with great modesty that we venture to state its results. Modesty, however, in this particular case does not imply doubt; for, in truth, not a shadow of it rests upon our minds; and if Professor Marsh found it "of all subjects on which he ever undertook to write, the most intricate and perplexed," (p. 53.) we are persuaded that the circumstance arose from his having unluckily advocated that side of the question, on which it would have perplexed an angel of controversy to have found a solid argument; or from his having, in the solitude of the cloister incident to a vacation at Cambridge, contemplated a little spectre of his imagination, till it assumed the grim and portentous aspect of a giant.

Professor Marsh had entitled himself to the gratitude of his country, and the respect of all good churchmen, for his successful exertions in favour of the national system of education upon the principles of Dr. Bell; and it is not the least evil likely to result from the present pamphlet, that it will weaken all his former arguments, by implicating his name and authority in what must appear, to a large portion of his former admirers, to be the labyrinths of bigotry and error. Accordingly we find that the advocates of Mr. Lancaster, with their usual alacrity, lost no time in sending a circular letter to the members of the Bible Society, endeavouring to draw them into an opinion that their objects and interests were now identified with his; and it is with the deepest regret that we perceive in the pamphlet before us a positive assertion to the same effect. When we consider the results which the professor's reasoning is calculated to produce on the minds of many of those whose plain sense and enlightened zeal attach them to the principles upon which the Bible Society is founded,—and when we contemplate the additional shock, which such persons must receive by the discovery of the *danger*, which has lain quietly hid in the professor's brain for the last seven years*, and by a somewhat rough intimation of the *mischiefs* they have been doing during that long period, by circulating the authorized version of the Bible (an expensive

* The British and Foreign Bible Society has been established seven years.

book), at a reduced price, to the members of the church, because they have left the circulation of Prayer-books, and of explanatory tracts (which are comparatively cheap and easy of acquisition), to other hands less full than their own;—we cannot help exclaiming,

Who but would *smile* if such a man there be,
Who but would *weep* if Herbert Marsh were he.

But it is not by the indulgence of contemptuous indifference, or of unmanly sorrow, that the evil can be counteracted. We shall therefore proceed, with all the plainness and earnestness which the importance of the subject demands, to make a few brief observations upon the two points principally insisted on. First, on the danger of associating with dissenters, for the purpose of promoting the circulation of the authorized version of the Bible *alone*, without note or comment: and secondly, on the supposed identity of interests and objects, between the Bible Society, and Mr. Lancaster's committees.

1. The whole of Professor Marsh's argument seems to rest upon this *assumption*; that in associating with Dissenters for the purpose of widely circulating the *Bible alone*, such of the members of the society as belong to the Church have *directly* countenanced the *extensive omission* of the Prayer-book; thereby *indirectly* admitting its inutility or inexpediency, as the best and safest commentary for the instruction of the people. Now this appears to us to be a very disingenuous conclusion; and something like finding fault with a society established to feed the hungry, for giving a poor man a loaf of bread at half its original cost, because they do not also give him an ounce of cheese upon the same terms; or like blaming the ladies who associate to provide soldiers wives with child-bed linen, and caudle, because they thereby countenance an *extensive omission* of flannel waistcoats for the use of the soldiers themselves. In distributing those things of which there is the greatest need, and which the objects of the bounty find it the most difficult to procure, they are far from wishing to preclude them from the possession of other articles of comfort; but they think, that by confining their own exertions to the most obvious and pressing wants, they will interest more persons in the charity, and thus effect the more extensive good.

Just so, the Bible Society have associated to circulate Bibles, which are very expensive to purchase, and of which there was a great dearth; not one family in fifty throughout the country having one in their possession. And they found that Christians of every denomination were so sensible of the utility of such an

object, that very extensive assistance, in zeal and money, could be procured by confining the charity to the bread of life alone.

But can those who circulate, at little more than half price, a Bible worth six or seven shillings, be accused of neglecting or depreciating the Prayer-book, which may be had for fifteen-pence; because they double their own means of circulating the former, by leaving the latter to the zeal of the individual, of the regular clergyman, or of other societies; or rather because they do not deprive themselves of the power of giving a poor man three or four shillings in a Bible, that they may eventually save him seven pence halfpenny on the purchase of a Prayer-book? For, after all, no society can *force* a Prayer-book upon the people. All that any society can do, is to circulate such as are demanded by subscribers at a reduced price. Nor do we suppose that even Dr. Marsh would recommend that the *acceptance* of a prayer-book, at a stated price, should be generally made the indispensable condition of receiving a bible; because it is obvious, that such a regulation would by no means increase the circulation of Prayer-books, but only diminish that of Bibles. And the fact in the present case is, that from the comparative cheapness of the liturgy, and the extent to which it is to be procured from the ancient and venerable society for promoting Christian knowledge*, the demand for that book is pretty amply supplied. Every one that wishes for it can procure it with a very little frugality; and we think that Professor Marsh, anxious as he is to depreciate the labours of the Bible Society, has admitted more than enough benefit from their exertions, to counterbalance the problematical chance of saving to a very few poor persons, seven-pence halfpenny on the purchase of a Prayer-book, when they desire to procure it. But the demand for Bibles is *very far from being supplied*; and we are utterly astonished that Professor Marsh should have ventured, in the face of notorious and recorded facts, to declare that "there were channels *in abundance* for the distribution of the Bible, long before the existence of the modern society." (P. 9.) Does he

* We are very happy to find, that this Society has had an accession of above 2000 subscribers within the last year; and we trust that the circumstance will tend to allay the fears of those, who foresaw its ruin in the success of the Bible Society. We are persuaded that the competition established, has acted as a spur to one, and a rein to the other. Long may the competition last! But let it not be a competition of words but of doing good. As Mr. Dealtry has well expressed it, "why should there be any other rivalry between these great institutions, but the generous rivalry of conferring benefits on mankind? Surely there is abundance of room for the labours of both. Every heart and every hand should be pressed into the service, and invited to partake of the reward" (Mr. Dealtry's speech at Hertford, Jan. 24, 1812)

not know then*, that Wales had for more than twenty years been presenting reiterated and most urgent petitions for Bibles, without any adequate supply, till the establishment of the Bible Society? Does he not know, that the Bristol Society found a call for 4200 Bibles and Testaments in one year; and that of Manchester, for upwards of 7000 in little more than six months? Does he not know, that there are 300,000 persons who understand no language but the Gaelic; not one in forty of whom possessed a Bible, till the society translated and dispersed it in that language? Does he not know, that in many parts of Ireland not more than a third of the Protestant families possessed Bibles, till the society imported them; and of the Papist families, scarcely one in 500? Does he not know, that in Jersey not a French Bible was to be had, though many families would willingly have purchased one? Does he not know, that at this moment, notwithstanding all the exertions of the two societies, and of the Naval and Military Bible Society, above 21,000 applications for Bibles from soldiers and sailors, now serving in his majesty's army and navy, have been ineffectual for want of funds? And does he not know that a great and increasing demand now exists throughout the whole kingdom; although above 300,000 Bibles and Testaments have been printed and circulated at home, within the last seven years, by the Bible Society *only*? It would be easy to multiply these questions from official reports, or from notorious facts; and Professor Marsh must surely have been acquainted with many of them; for he has himself told us, that he has spared no pains to get every information on the subject. What then shall we say of his assertion, that channels in *abundance* existed for the distribution

* The history of the origin and progress of the Bible Society is simply this. The extreme want of Welsh Bibles in North Wales, and the despair of obtaining them without resorting to new and extraordinary means for the purpose, having been made known to many charitable persons, the means of supplying it became a subject of consideration. In the course of their communications they found that the want of Bibles was not confined to Wales, but that it was felt in other parts of the United Kingdom, and also in a greater degree abroad; and their views progressively extended to the supply of the deficiency wherever it prevailed. It was evident that the means for attaining this object must be proportionate to its magnitude; and the plan proposed for the purpose was accordingly calculated to embrace the support of Christians at large, by inviting the concurrence of persons of every description, who professed to regard the Scriptures as the proper standard of religious truth. The plan of the society was thus suggested by the *single consideration* of the deplorable want of the word of God, and the supply of that want was *its sole and exclusive object*; without the slightest disposition to rival any other society, or to depreciate the *liberty* of the Church of England; or the most distant suspicion that such a consequence could ever ensue from it. In truth, the experience of seven years has shewn that no such effect has arisen, or was ever thought of, till the publication of the pamphlet before us.

of the Bible?—We wish not to say any thing harsh; but impartial sincerity obliges us to remark, that it would have been wiser in Professor Marsh to have abstained from an accusation, brought forward a few pages afterwards, that the Bible Society had violated both *truth and candour*, on a point for the proof of which he refers to an appendix, which is postponed to a future opportunity.

We think that we have now said enough to satisfy a reflecting mind of the futility of Professor Marsh's objections to the Bible Society. His principal objection is not to the extensive circulation of the Bible, but, as he states, in very large capital letters, to **THE EXTENSIVE OMISSION OF THE LITURGY**. Now, if we have shewn that no such omission is directly or indirectly advised by the Church of England members of the Bible Society, or countenanced, encouraged, or in fact effected by the constitution of the Society; but that they have abstained from distributing Prayer-books which can be procured *in abundance*, and with comparative facility, in order to obtain more extensive assistance towards diffusing the Bible, which is procured with greater difficulty;—if a Church of England-man, wishing to give away the Prayer-book with the Bible, may now procure it with greater ease than he can a Bible, which is all that the exertions of the society could effect, were the sale of Prayer-books part of its plan;—and if by confining itself to the Bible alone, it extends its circulation both among churchmen and dissenters, to say nothing of its exertions among the heathen; all which points are, we think, indisputable;—then is the society cleared from any wish to depreciate the liturgy, and its church of England members from any design to omit it in the instruction of the people: then fall to the ground all the professor's dire forebodings, about the designs of supposed "Calvinists and Puritans," drawn from analogy to the neglect, depreciation, and abolition of the liturgy, by the *real* puritans in the reign of our first Charles: then can he with as little fairness blame the society for distributing the Bible *alone*, as he could blame them, had they presented him with their reports, for not abstracting the information therein contained; which he might easily have procured among his friends at Cambridge, or have purchased for a shilling, condensed in Mr. Scott's sermon.

This, then, as we have observed, is enough to satisfy a reflecting mind; and, as with the dean of Carlisle, we have "on all occasions of contrariety of sentiment, an instinctive aversion to vain and frivolous contentions concerning the outsidings of questions," we would willingly, for our own sakes, rest here. But as the majority of minds are not of a reflecting turn, but very

apt to be swayed by the outsides of questions, we must on this account, as well as out of compliment to the learned professor, and in consideration of the great labour and pains he has employed about his pamphlet, yet extend our observations a little further.

One of the most prominent features of many pages of the work is the reverend author himself, and the vituperation which has been heaped upon the "Margaret professor of divinity," for *defending and upholding the liturgy* in his address to the senate of Cambridge. We must, however, observe, that if Dr Marsh had contented himself in that address with those objects, if he had strongly put it to the good sense and consciences of the members of the church of England, that it was incumbent upon them to be careful in bestowing the liturgy, which they might very easily procure at a cheap rate, whenever they gave away a Bible to a poor man, especially to one who had no opportunity of having it expounded by a regular and enlightened clergyman;—he would have had our cordial thanks, and as we think those of every candid friend to the church.* But when he proceeded without just cause or provocation, and upon the faith of a false assumption, to use his most earnest endeavours to break up and dissolve a society whose objects, acts, and intentions were so dear to many sincere and orthodox Christians; we must say, that the attempt has not, in our opinion, met with more vituperation than its unjustifiable vanity deserved, or than its author ought naturally to have expected. Nor are the charges of Calvinism, Puritanism, hostility to the church, and the like, which are liberally and indiscriminately bestowed in the present pamphlet on the advocates of the Bible Society, or his numerous insinuations against the motives and characters of his Cambridge adversaries, deserving of, or likely to meet with, a smaller share of blame; though, from motives of respect, we shall certainly abstain from adding our portion on the present occasion. We cannot, however, help exclaiming,—the Bishops of Durham, Norwich, and St. David's, the Lords Teignmouth and Gambier, Calvinists, Puritans, and enemies to the church!!!

We think also that when he recommended the transfer of the subscriptions to another society, which the experience of a century has proved incapable, from various causes, (respectable as it is,) of promoting in an equal degree the circulation of the scriptures, the charge of wishing to check that circulation was not inaptly applied to him. It is far indeed from amounting to a Popish prohibition, as has been insinuated; but it is singular, that even the most distant approach to it on the part of a Protestant should be accompanied, *in point of time*, by a zeal on the part of many of the Papists for the circulation of the scriptures. We

are mistaken, however, if the most bigotted Romanists will not rejoice at the professor's publication. If he be supposed by them to give the general sense of his clerical brethren, they will at least hail the revival of *principles* for which they have long contended.

"Hoc Ithacus vclit et magno mercetur Atridæ."

That the words *corrective*, *contagion*, and the like, may have been inaccurately or somewhat hastily used in the heat of debate or of controversy, may be very true. But this is not merely the *outside*, it is very husk and offal of the question.

The next objection which seems likely, from its *logical appearance*, to make a false impression upon weak minds, is, that when churchmen, who possess an establishment and a liturgy, associate with dissenters, who have neither, for the purpose of distributing the *Bible alone*; the partnership is not formed upon equal terms, because the criterion and test of the establishment is abandoned without an equivalent, "TO THE RUIN (again in very large capitals) OF THAT PARTY WHICH MAKES THE SACRIFICE." "They make approaches to the conventicle, while the conventicle makes no approaches to the church; thus the church is undermined, while the conventicle remains entire." (P. 61, 2.)

Notwithstanding the logical semblance of this series of propositions, we cannot help replying in the language of the schools, "Negatur minor." For keeping in mind the facility with which the liturgy can be procured for distribution by the members of the church, we think that they are clear gainers in this partnership, instead of not having an equivalent; as indeed they seem to think themselves, from the names which appear at the head of the concern. For if, as Professor Marsh justly observes, the various sects of dissenters *wrest* the scriptures, by *aid of false* interpretations, into the rejection of the Trinity, the Atonement, the Sacraments, and other doctrines; how much more easily would a man so deceived have his mind opened by a zealous and orthodox minister, who could refer him for the truth to the *study of his own Bible*, than if he received the naked doctrine from the sectarian without any *standard by which to test its truth*? The party, therefore, which is in error, must always have the disadvantage in the circulation of the *test of truth*; unless we suppose the grace of God to be nothing, the zeal of God's true ministers nothing, and the exertions of the apostles of error to be every thing. There is, then, *some chance* that the dissenters will *not* remain dissenters; or if they do, that the study of the word of God will gradually bring them nearer to the truth. The Socinians are, so well aware of this, that they have compiled a garbled

Bible for the use of their disciples. We should be glad to see them members of the Bible Society; they could not retain their disciples one month against the free use of the authorized version of the scriptures.

But will churchmen become dissenters? We think not; so long as the established clergy do their duty, in the explanation of the Bible to the poor; and if they neglect this duty, we are not of opinion that the addition of a Prayer-book will guarantee their fidelity to mother church. If possessing and venerating the Bible, they see the dissenting minister zealous in propagating truths which he professes to found upon it, and the established minister negligent or lukewarm, they will probably believe the former to be the most sincere, and therefore the most likely to be right. And this they will think whether they have a Prayer-book or not. For, as the Margaret professor well observes, the poor do not possess the knowledge and the judgement which are necessary to direct men in the choice of their religion. They must therefore learn it from their instructors. But when he proceeds to ask, can there be a better instructor in the opinion of churchmen than the book of Common Prayer? We answer, THE PARISH PRIEST. Else why have so many eminent men passed so much of their time in writing commentaries, tracts, and expositions on the principal parts of the liturgy itself?

The fair result then is this, where a zealous minister of the church officiates, the presence of the Bible alone, as the test of truth, will not only preserve the church from the conventicle, but tend to the approximation of the conventicle to the church; though the minister will certainly distribute Prayer-books for use in his church. Where the advantage of such a minister is wanting, particularly if a zealous dissenter intervenes, the presence of the Prayer-book will by no means preserve the poor from error, for the reasons so ably stated by the learned professor, respecting their want of knowledge and judgement to make a choice. But the presence and study of the Bible alone will render them more accessible to the truth, should it by God's blessing be proposed to them; and cannot but mend their hearts and their lives, should it be his will to leave them in comparative darkness. We cannot therefore but think, that those who object to the distribution of the Bible alone by the hands of churchmen and dissenters respectively, as they find a want for it, pay but an ill compliment to the zeal of the church; and must be ready to come to this conclusion, that where the church is without zeal, or from other causes insufficient to the instruction of the people, the people should remain in utter darkness, rather than be gained for a time by the dissenters:—a proposition, to which we think no Christian, who

has travelled into those parts of England where the population has rapidly increased, can possibly accede.

But we are told (pp. 50, 51, and 58, 59,) that the association of churchmen with dissenters, for the circulation of the *Bible alone*, has a tendency to make them hostile to all tests, *indifferent* to the liturgy, prone to *justify* its omission, and, in fact, little better than dissenters themselves;—"that a bare connexion with the Bible Society, is sufficient to produce this effect, even when unassisted by the operation of other causes," such as Calvinism and the like. The FACTS *in proof* of this inference are rather curious: they consist, first, of a speech of Mr. Whitbread's to his dissenting constituents at Bedford, in which he openly expressed his wishes for, and expectation of, the abolition of the test act. Without any regard to the quackery usually thought allowable in addressing constituents on the eve of an expected election, without any reflection that Mr. Whitbread is perhaps not the man of all others, upon whom the advocates of the Bible Society would fix as the oracle of, then religious sentiments, or political hopes, if any they have of the latter;—this speech is argued upon with no great fairness, as we think, as embodying in words the spirit of all the other Bible Societies.

The other FACT *in proof* is the *assumption*, that because the meeting at Cambridge censured Professor Marsh's objections to the Bible Society, on the score of its distributing the *Bible alone*, and that its Church of England members justified the omission of the liturgy in the instruction of the people, therefore "it cannot be supposed that they will *correct* that omission, by supplying *individually* what the society in its corporate capacity *withholds*." (P. 60.) The result will as he thinks be a general increase of dissenters.

We have already exposed the mistake concerning the supposed desire to *omit* the liturgy in the instruction of the people. We shall not therefore stop to take cognizance of the obviously illogical, not to say absurd, deduction of the above inferences; but shall proceed to the more useful purpose of stating a FACT or two in illustration of the salutary effects of associating with dissenters, in such charitable and religious objects, as we may conscientiously promote in their company.

In the Bishop of Durham's schools in the north, the children of churchmen and dissenters are indiscriminately admitted; but if the latter attend dissenting places of worship with their parents, they are not expected to attend the church. This privilege was at first used by them to a considerable extent, but in a short time, so grateful were they for the christian liberality shewn to them, that they actually repaired to the church, in

company with their parents, with very few exceptions. A fact of the same nature occurred in a school, conducted upon similar principles, by a most respectable lady of Blackheath, near London. We have also heard of a similar instance in a village near Uxbridge, where a great proportion of the parishioners are quakers. We intreat Professor Marsh to ruminate a little on these FACTS, before he next contends that the association of churchmen with dissenters, upon principles congenial with the religious freedom of the latter, has a tendency to draw the church to the conventicle, rather than the conventicle to the church. We intreat him also to reflect, that there is no more certain method of making men enemies, than by calling them such. If dissenters are to be placed under an indiscriminate ban and anathema; if the hand of fellowship is to be denied them by churchmen, and they are to be kept at a distance from all co-operation in works of piety and charity, as carrying contagion with them, (we beg Dr. Marsh's pardon for using the word) they will inevitably be forced into enmity. Whereas the Bible Society, and the principles upon which it is founded, have done more to smooth sectarian asperities than all the devices ever adopted for that purpose. As Mr. Dealtry exclaimed in his eloquent and animated speech at Hertford on the 24th of last January, the substance of which, embodied in a pamphlet at the request of the committee, has just reached us:—"By the united co-operation of Christians of all denominations in a cause where all can safely unite, asperity is subdued, Christian charity is promoted, and, above all, resources are called into existence, which descend in blessings, not merely upon this land and people, but upon every nation, to which the liberality of Britain can direct them." (P. 11.) Or, as Mr. Vannitart wrote in his excellent letter of the 12th of February, 1812, "It is not simply to the diffusion of the Bible, but to the co-operation of all Christians to diffuse it, and to the effect of such a co-operation on our own hearts, that I look, not only for the *establishment of Christian faith*, but the *extension of Christian charity*." For ourselves, we will yield to none in our love and attachment to the church of England, and we are convinced, that every unprejudiced man, who has perused our several disquisitions on religious subjects, will give us full credit for this assertion, although its truth may not be so obvious to those who think that flattery is the best test of friendship. In the same spirit we will say with Mr. Dealtry, "God forbid that we should seek to deprive our church of the distinguished honour of assisting and co-operating with good men though not of our own communion, in the diffusion of universal blessing."

We shall now proceed in conclusion to notice an objection, which from the pen of Dr. Marsh has a preeminent claim to attention,—we mean the analogy drawn by him between the principles of the Bible Society, and those of Mr. Lancaster's system of education. "Mr. Lancaster," says he (p. 24.) "adopts the Bible, and the Bible alone." So does the Bible Society. Let us then "draw a parallel between the religious instruction afforded by Mr. Lancaster, and the religious instruction afforded by the modern Bible Society." "The former confines religious instruction to the *children* of the poor, the latter extends it to *adults*, who are frequently in equal want of it. Both agree in providing a Bible, both agree in leaving that Bible, unaccompanied with the liturgy." This reasoning of the learned professor strongly reminds us of the arguments by which Fluellen in Henry V. endeavours to prove the identity of Macedon and Monmouth. "There is a river in Macedon, there is moreover a river in Monmouth. It is called Wye, at Monmouth, but it is out of my *prais*; what is the name of the other river; but it is all one, it is as like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmon in both." But as we cannot expect the professor to taste this analogy, and as we should be very glad to convert him to our opinion, we will briefly observe, that to his ingenuous comparison there appear to us to be two objections, besides the obvious one of identifying the minds of adults with those of children. 1st. The positions on which it is founded are not entirely true in point of fact; and, 2dly. to the extent in which they are true the analogy does not apply.

1st. It is not true that Mr. Lancaster in the religious instruction afforded by him, imparts the knowledge of the *whole* Bible, as the society does, but only of *such parts* of it as are consistent with the religious opinions of the *various denominations of Christians*. All the peculiar doctrines are carefully excluded, and the system is exactly that system of "*generalized protestantism*," which Professor Marsh so justly deprecates as applied to members of the church. But, 2dly, if Mr. Lancaster did impart the knowledge of the whole Bible, a broad and decided line of distinction would still separate him from the Bible Society. He absolutely *excludes* the liturgy from his schools. If a churchman, therefore, sends his child to such a school, he cannot be brought up in the tenets of the church. If such schools were universally established in *all the purity of the system*, the people in general, and the children of churchmen in particular, would be *debarred* from imbibing with the first rudiments of instruction, that attachment to the tenets of the establishment, with which it is morally and politically

pedient that they should be imbued. The church, in short, would be eventually delivered up into the hands of the dissenters; for the affection, the gratitude, the instruction of the people, would all be enlisted on their side. This is evidently the true and rational objection to Mr. Lancaster's system, contemplated with a view to its *general adoption*, and not to its confined and laudable operation on the children of dissenters. It is on this, at least, that all the arguments in the late controversy were founded.

But how does this apply to the Bible Society? There is no principle of *exclusion* with them; but they offer with a liberal hand the pure and unvitiated word of God (to be used according to their several wants and systems,) to the churchman and the various sects of dissenters; leaving it to the grace of God, and the zeal of each body, to produce its due effects on the minds of their disciples.* Insofar as Mr. Lancaster attempts to do the same by imparting the mechanical principles of his system to church of England schools, which we believe he is willing to do when he can do no more, the practical part of the question between him and Dr. Bell is (*in that instance*) reduced to the comparative merits of the mechanism and practices of the two systems, which is not very great, though in some respect important; and to the difference between the characters of the two men, which, as our readers know, is *very great indeed* *.

But contemplating the objections to Mr. Lancaster's *peculiar* system in the light in which Dr. Marsh sees them, and in which we are fully disposed to concur, it is evident, that they have no more analogy with the general principles and conduct of the Bible Society, than exists between a principle of exclusion, and one of universal admission.

We trust that enough has now been said to convince every unprejudiced member of the Bible Society, that the church is in no danger from his assistance towards the charitable distribution of the *Bible alone* in his own country; and that in following Dr. Marsh's advice, by withdrawing from the society, or endeavouring to confine its operation to foreign countries, he would help to prostrate one of the most glorious fabrics that ever was raised among a Christian people; and to ruin an institution, in which (to use the words of a benevolent American) "the friends of Christianity have at last met on common ground, and combined their efforts to promote the best of causes, by means about which it is *impossible to dispute*." These were the objects of the preceding pages. But in our next number, we shall have

*See first number of the British Review, article X.

another and a more pleasing duty to perform; namely, to commend the society to the patronage of those who are not yet subscribers, but who are disposed at a small expence to confer extensive benefit on mankind. We have lately read over its reports and inquired into their authenticity; and we must declare that on a candid and dispassionate perusal we cannot find in them any of those "violations of truth and candour," which Dr. Marsh says he has discovered. There are many marks of zeal, and a slight tincture of enthusiasm in some parts of the foreign correspondence. But we are not among those who are disposed to quarrel with the religious sentiments of a foreigner, because they are not ground down and polished to suit exactly the fastidious taste of our cool and undisturbed society. We are willing to make allowance for the different impressions, which different states of society, of happiness, of prosperity, and of government, inevitably make upon the minds of men;—and it adds very much to the pleasure which the curious and interesting information in the society's foreign correspondence imparts, that it also exhibits a no less curious and affecting portrait of the human heart, under the violent political changes, and the individual oppression and misery, which the events of the last seven years have produced.

The matter and arguments of the work before us have hitherto been the principal objects of our attention.

If, as critics, we are bound to give an opinion as to the style of the composition, we must must observe that there is a coarseness about it, which we cannot but very much lament to see employed in controversy on any subject, particularly on one so nearly connected with religion and the charities of life. It also occurs to us, that Dr. Clarke, in a jokey answer to the professor's "inquiry," written on the evening of its publication, points out many instances of false grammar. We do not think it worth our while to verify them. It would, to be sure, have been more creditable, had the laboured performance of a Cambridge professor not been open to such an imputation. But since, had we been pleased with his argument, we should certainly as individuals have overlooked his language, so we shall not in our corporate capacity revenge our individual disappointment by visiting his grammatical errors with severity.

Upon the whole, and in conclusion, we cannot help observing of this pamphlet, that in every page it too plainly betrays that it had its origin in little else than a pure and abstract love of controversy. A more lamentable waste of real and otherwise respectable talent, in propping up theorems constructed upon a rotten foundation, we have not witnessed during the short period

of our critical labours. That a clergyman of the church of England, of acknowledged abilities and superior learning, should deliberately undertake to annihilate a society, which has for its sole object the diffusion of the pure and unadulterated word of God, and that too in the nineteenth century, would be inconceivable, if the truth were not before our eyes. It is enough to raise the ghosts of Cranmer and of Luther. And we can scarcely bring our minds to believe, that the learned professor had seriously any other object in view, than to give the world a specimen of the extent to which the powers of ratiocination can smother the plain dictates of common sense. Because men circulate Bibles alone, they are therefore hostile to the liturgy! Because they associate with dissenters in a pious and charitable work, they therefore undermine our religious establishment! As well might it be said, because the society for promoting christian knowledge does not print and circulate the homilies, it is therefore hostile to them; or, what is as good as this logic, because we wear boots, therefore we dislike shoes. Most sorry should we be to possess Dr. Marsh's talents and learning, were we capable of abusing them in support of such an argument. But he is evidently fond of controversy; we profess to hate it. Perhaps our opposite tastes may be ascribed to the same cause; —the perversity of mankind in entertaining a bias directly towards that course which is rather opposed to, than consistent with, their professional character. We sincerely hope, however, when the explosion is over, and the professor has had his amusement, that he will make the "amende honorable," and finish by subscribing his guinea to the Bible Society.

ART. IX. *Chronological Retrospect; or, Memoirs of the Principal Events of the Mahomedan History, from the Death of the Arabian Legislator, to the Accession of the Emperor Akbar, and the Establishment of the Moghul Empire in Hindustan. From original Persian Authorities.* By Major David Price, of the East India Company's Service. In three Volumes 4to. Vol. I. London, 1811. Booth, &c.

It has been the usage of the more recently of periodical vehicles of criticism, of which we have recently availed ourselves, to consider subjects rather than authors: using the latter, or even their titles only, as a convenience

for the introduction of essays on the former. We are convinced that the exercise of the privilege in the hands of an original thinker may often be productive of advantage to the public when attended by judgment and discretion, although in the instance of the work before us, we feel disposed to discuss its merits rather than its comprehensive subject: but giving no pledge that we shall not avail ourselves to a certain extent, of the latitude allowed us, and stretch our view beyond the limits of the book itself.

Not, however, that we shall attempt any regular introduction or analysis of this compendium of Mahommedan history. Such an attempt would lead us into a retrospect much beyond our limits; and would demand a research, which though fully aware of its importance, we are not equally convinced of our ability to prosecute in a profitable or satisfactory manner.

It ought not, in reason, to be always expected, that the conductors of a critical journal can be so fully competent to the elucidation of every topic, as the authors themselves who select such topics for their peculiar investigation. This is a concession that has not, so far as we are aware, been yet made by any of our predecessors, or competitors, or coadjutors, or whatever term may suit them best; and we therefore trust that we shall be allowed the whole merit of the originality, as well as of the modesty,—and it is not affected—of the concession. We feel no self-abasement in admitting, for instance, that the author of the work before us is more competent to the task of introducing his history by a preliminary discourse than we are of doing it for him. He evidently has devoted very respectable talents, and many patient and toilsome years, to the development of his subject, or, as the language of his authorities would more poetically express it—to fathoming the ocean of oriental literature, and collecting the scattered pearls that he has here strung on the thread of history. That he has done so much demands our acknowledgments. Still we cannot but regret that he has not done something more. We think that he has introduced his subject too abruptly, and wish that he had devoted a few pages to its previous discussion. The value of Sale's excellent translation of the Koran, is greatly enhanced by his preliminary discourse. The same may be said of the history of Charles V. And a preface of a similar nature to Major Price's *Retrospect* would have remedied the evident abruptness of the present introduction. His object is, moreover, farther removed from the ordinary course of reading and re-

flection, than that of either of the works alluded to; and he will, we think, see the reasonableness of our remarks.

We shall therefore plainly suggest to him, as the completion of his work is still prospective, the expediency of a few preliminary pages, explaining the theological and political state of the countries that first embraced Islam, or were overwhelmed by its ferocious champions. Such a chapter might be still constructed as a preface to the first volume, which is evidently its most appropriate place; and if given even with the last would easily arrange itself with the work. A map in outline of the extended theatre on which his *tragedians* acted, would afford great additional facilities toward a connected view of the author's diversified and intricate drama. We are further induced to suggest a specification more at length of the authorities from which the facts detailed in this work are taken. There is, indeed, a notice of this in every page, so far as regards the *title* of the works so laid under contribution: but we rather wish for a catalogue raisonnée of those original authorities. It will not, we trust, be unacceptable, if, in its absence, we briefly attempt the notice which we recommend more extensively to Major Price; with respect to the authorities of his first volume.

I. Most of our oriental readers will anticipate the Rouzet us suffa as the primary source of almost all authentic Mahomedan history. From this valuable work Major Price has extracted a considerable portion of the facts and details which he has skilfully connected with those with which other works have supplied him. This estimable history is usually stiled *Tarikh Ruzet al Saffa*, differently spelled of course by different writers. The original title is تاريخ روضة الصفاء, and it is by many orientalists thought to be the best history in the Persian language. It is comprized in seven considerable volumes, each forming a distinct chapter or section. An introduction descants on the utility of history, especially to those in exalted stations; and a postscript or conclusion is descriptive of the city of Herat, at that time the capital of Khorassan. The author or compiler of this work is Mahommed Mir Khawend Shah, better known in Europe by the familiar abridgment of his name, Mirkhond. He died in A.D. 1497, during the reign of his patron Sultan Hussein Mirza Abul Ghazi Behader of Khorassan, fourth in descent from Timur. The work is dedicated to Ali Shir, vizir or minister of that munificent prince, the patron of the learned

of his time, a poet, and an esteemed author. Several splendid copies of this work were found in the valuable library of the late Tippoo Sultan. Three of them were presented, with many other valuable manuscripts, by the captors of Seringapatam to the East India company, and are, we presume, duly deposited in their libraries at Calcutta, the India House, and Haily-bury.

II. The work, to which Major Price is secondarily indebted, is the *Habeib' usseyr*, as he writes the title; but we should rather, in pursuance of Sir William Jones' system, write *Habib assir* for *حبيب السير* its original title.

This is an able, perspicuous, and comprehensive digest of the voluminous materials of the preceding work, free from its painful prolixity, and therefore held by some good judges even in higher estimation; and considered the most satisfactory historical performance in the Persian language. It consists of three parts or volumes, commencing with the history of the ancient kings of Persia and Arabia; it details that of Mahommed, his descendants the Khaliffs, &c. and concludes with the life of Jenghiz Khan, Timür and his descendants, to Sultan Hussein of Kharassan before mentioned. The history is brought down to the 939th year of the Hejra, or A. D. 1532; and the author, according to a memorandum in an Asiatic MS. to which we have had access, died in 1535. This does not accord with the account of Professor Stewart, who in his valuable catalogue of Tippoo's library, assigns 1501 as the date of its dedication; and he calls the *Habib assir* an abridgment of the *Kholasset al akhbar*, a work that we shall next notice: whereas it appears to us that the converse is rather the fact; the last named work being, as its title implies, itself an abridgment, and in general a meagre one. It is, notwithstanding, from the precision with which in most cases it fixes events, a very valuable old book. Both works are by the same author, Gheyauth, or Ghias ad din, son of Hamam ud din, entitled Khondemir, by which latter appellation he is sufficiently celebrated in Europe. He is generally stated to have been the son of Mirkhond, the compiler of the *Rūzet as sūffa*, but we think it probable that he was his grandson; both from the epithet of *Jed'e aala* applied by him in the *Kholasset al akhbar*, to Seyed Khawend, the father of Mirkhond, and from the MS. note before mentioned, which expressly states Khondemir to be the grandson of Mirkhond by a daughter—and, (minutely recording the period,) that he died in the

neighbourhood of Mandu, or Menduah, an important fortress north of the river Narmada, or Nerbudah. The epithet of Jed e aala may, indeed, be translated either great grandfather, or superior or exalted grandfather: or aala may have the same allusion as *merhoum* 'who is departed.' Jed e aala may thus mean my grandfather who is on high, or in heaven above; a pious mode of expression, admitting of considerable variety, and usually adopted by well educated Mahommedans when writing or speaking of their departed predecessors, or of any sacred or revered character. We have been induced to notice these points touching the celebrated writers Mirkhond and Khondemir, as they are supposed by Petit de la Croix and others to stand in a degree of relationship differing, probably, from the truth; and farther, because their familiar names are not directly applied to the account of their works in Professor Stewart's very curious and valuable catalogue, in which they are placed Nos. I. II. and III. of History.

III. The Kholâssat al Akhbâr, or, as Major Price spells the title Kholâssat ul Akhbaur,—خلاصة الاخبار in the original, (respecting which work we have with due deference dissented from the description given by Major Stewart,) is usually comprized in one large volume; and consists of an introduction, ten chapters and a conclusion. Its history terminates about the 905th year of the Hejra, or the 1499th of Christ. This work has been profitably consulted by Major Price; but, having touched on it in our preceding remarks, we shall thus briefly dismiss it.

IV. تاريخ طبري. Târikh Tabery, or Tebri. A most valuable piece of history in Arabic, by Abu Jaffier, otherwise named Mahommed Jaffier 'ebn Jerrier al Tebri, who is esteemed as the Livy of Arabian historians. The original work terminates with the early part of the 10th century, and has long been exceedingly scarce. It has been translated into Persian, and the history of the Khalifs continued to A. D. 1118, by Abu Mahommed of Tabriz; but his version, which is, we apprehend, that consulted by Major Price, is extremely uncouth in its structure, and unpolished in its language.

V. تاريخ كزنده. Târikh Gazideh. This is another excellent and well-known compendium of Arabic and Persic history, ending early in the fourteenth century, by Ahmed ben Abu Bekr of Kasvin, an account of which city

and of its illustrious citizens is contained in the sixth and last chapter. This work is deservedly commended by Sir William Jones, and has, with the preceding, furnished Major Price with some important matter.

Of these works, which may be reckoned the basis of nearly all Arabic and Persian history, Major Price has availed himself, together with others of secondary importance. Such as the *Rabia al ebrar*, the *Muajem e Kabir*, &c. of which we shall not stop to take particular notice.

The "*Retrospect of Mahomedan history*," is intended to be comprized in three volumes; of which the first only has yet reached us, commencing with the 8th year, and concluding with the subversion of the house of Ommeyah, in the 132d of the Hejra, or A.D. 750. The second volume will commence, as we are told in the preface to this,

"With the accession of the house of Abbas, and terminate with the death of Sultan Ahmed Jullâeir the Eylekhaunian, in the 812th year of the Hidjerah: and the third volume will commence with the early history of the Tcheghatayan branch of the descendants of Jengueiz, the immediate ancestors of Teymûr, and close with the accession of Akbar, in the 963d year of the same æra, the 1550th of Christ; each distinctly comprizing within itself a separate portion of oriental history, and all together embracing a period little short of ten centuries." P. vii.

The researches of the author have been directed, and his object in general confined, to trace within this portion of time

"The progress of Mahomedan grandeur, as it shifted its position from its parent seat of Medcinah, first to Kûfah, and next to the envied and luxuriant region of Damascus; thence to Baghdâd and the banks of the Tigris; to Tebreiz or Tauris, Sôltauniah, and Herât; and ultimately to the Indus and the banks of the Ganges. The scene of these transactions which he has attempted to delineate, will accordingly be laid for the most part in the regions extending from the river Oxus to the Peninsula of Arabia, and from the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean." P. iv.

It is impracticable to give, within an ordinary compass, any satisfactory analysis of a work superabounding in incidents, and in such a variety of transitions. We shall therefore content ourselves with offering some extracts as fair specimens of its stile, and such remarks as the subjects may suggest.

The opening of the work affords a favourable specimen of

the correctness of the author in points more important than that of mere talent.

"That there existed in the genius of Mahommedanism something calculated to inspire the most powerful energies and exertions, has been too widely and fearfully exemplified in the unparalleled successes of its votaries, to be now made a question. But without conceding too far to the opinions of some very distinguished modern authorities on the subject, there are, in the experience of succeeding ages, sufficient grounds for the belief, that its early and rapid advancement is to be ascribed, in an equal degree, to the degenerate spirit of its opposers; and to the already corrupted state of Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. If, indeed, the gospel of peace and benevolence, delivered in spotless purity by a mild Redeemer for the welfare and happiness of mankind, had even at that period, through human folly and depravity, suffered a deplorable perversion; if the minds of men were become already unhinged and embittered by acrimonious controversies, by impious, unavailing, and contradictory attempts to analyze those mysterious properties of the Divine nature, so far beyond the scope of the human faculties to comprehend; if the sole object of pure and rational devotion had been in a manner lost sight of, through the degrading substitution of image worship; 'through the cloud of martyrs, saints, and angels, interposed before the throne of Omnipotence;' it is almost impossible to avoid the inference, that in the state of ignorance which then generally pervaded the mass of society, the world was sufficiently predisposed to embrace any change or innovation that might be recommended for its adoption, under the influence of superior talents, and a plausible exterior of sanctity. The surprise will therefore cease, that with endowments of no ordinary stamp, and with the united aid of fraud and violence, the self-commissioned and aspiring legislator of the Arabs, should have proceeded in engrafting on the minds of his uninformed, but ardent countrymen, together with the sublime and eternal truth that 'there is only one God,' an acquiescence at least, if not a belief, in the unconnected rhapsodies of the Koran; and in the fiction necessary perhaps to the establishment of his doctrines, and not less to his views of ambition, that he was the apostle of God." P. 2.

The account of the death of Mahommed, with which the first chapter terminates, exhibits an instance of the easy faith of the early bigots to the even then widely spread doctrines of Islam. It exhibits also some lines of the genius of that faith, and a specimen, though no favourable one, of the style of the Rouzet as suffa, whence the relation is taken. We shall extract a portion of it, regretting our inability to include the interesting prelude to the exit from this mortal stage of the extraordinary person adverted to.

"In concluding the subject with a statement almost too preposterous for the digestion of the grossest credulity, we can offer no apology but that it is throughout closely copied from the sense of the original. When Azrail, the angel of death, after much preliminary ceremony, had at last obtained admission to the chamber of the prophet, he introduced himself with the customary salutation of the country; and conveyed to him, farthermore, an all hail! from that Almighty Being whose decrees he was appointed to execute; professing at the same time, that he was enjoined not to interfere with the soul of God's prophet, without an entire acquiescence on his part. Mahommed entreated that he would suspend the execution of his dreadful office, until the angel Gabriel should appear. At that instant the mandate of eternal beneficence reached the prince who rules over the powers of darkness, to extinguish the flames of hell, while the ministers of destiny were conveying the pure spirit of the favourite of Omnipotence to the mansions of immortality. The never-fading virgins of paradise; the ministring angels; the heavenly choirs; the glorious inmates of interminable bliss, arrayed in all their brightest splendour, all unfolded in countless myriads to celebrate the approach of Mahommed. Charged with intelligence so full of bliss and consolation, the archangel, yet sorrowing for the miseries of humanity, approached the chamber of his expiring friend, who complained in mild remonstrance of his cruel direliction at a crisis to him so awful. Gabriel, in reply, offered to console, and congratulate him at the same time, on those glorious preparations, in which the whole host of heaven were employed for his reception into the realms of bliss. The prophet, with that cold indifference which sometimes marks the hour of death, observed, that so far every thing accorded with his wishes; yet there was some circumstance farther required to afford him that delight of soul, which he still panted to experience. The archangel then added, that the enjoyments of heaven were closed against the prophets and saints, his predecessors, until that happy period when he and his faithful followers should make their entrance. Mahommed still professed that there was something undescribed, without which his happiness, must continue imperfect and incomplete. Gabriel, with an indulgence truly ethereal for this unquenchable thirst after happiness in a mere mortal, concluded the catalogue of glories which awaited him, by farther announcing, that whilst his Creator thus chose to signalize him with marks of his divine bounty, so transcendant, so far surpassing the lot of all preceding prophets, to his portion was added the fountain of immortality, in a station of the most exalted glory. And, last of all, to him was assigned the noblest privilege, the richest meed of benevolence; that of interceding before the mercy seat of omnipotence, in behalf of those who believed in him; so that, on the fearful day of judgment, so vast would be the multitude of his followers received

to mercy through his sole mediation, that he should not fail to participate, to a transcendent degree, in that pure and ineffable delight, of which immortal spirits alone are capable of the enjoyment." "Then," said Mahommed, "my soul is satisfied, mine eyes have seen the light."

"He now addressed himself to the angel of death, desiring him to approach, and no longer delay the execution of that office which he was destined to discharge. The grasp of dissolution immediately seized the springs of life. The rapid changes in the prophet's countenance bespoke that the agonies of death were upon him. At the same time, in a bason of cold water placed beside him, he dipped his hands, and with one and the other by turns, wiped off the large drops of perspiration which incessantly bedewed his forehead; until his pure spirit finally forsook its vile and frail enclosure. In his last agonies he is said, fixing his eyes on the roof of the chamber, to have raised his hand and exclaimed, 'Ah! my companion, I attend thee to the realm above.' And gradually dropping his hand, thus quietly expired."

"Such," adds the translator, "is the colouring with which his disciples have thought fit to delineate the exit of their master. We, who are, however, neither compelled nor disposed to believe the correctness of the design, may be permitted, with greater brevity and in plainer language, to state that on Monday the 12th of the first Rabbiea, of the eleventh year of the * Hidjry, in the sixty-third year of his age, and twenty-third of his pretended mission, the prophet of the Arabs condescended to accompany the angel of death, to account for his multiplied impostures before the tribunal of eternal truth." P. 18.

Many features of character in Mahommed and the important persons who succeeded him in the Imâniyet and Khelâfiet (the pontifical and civil supremacy) tend to exhibit them more familiarly to our perceptions, in this than in any earlier work. But it is highly necessary in consulting eastern authorities; to keep in mind the sectarian bias of the writers. Ardent in their zeal, and yielding to the impulses of a warm and poetical imagination, the historians of India, Persia, and

* Corresponding with the 6th of June, 632, A.D. But some eastern histories record this event to have taken place ten days earlier than the date here assigned to it by the author of the *Rouzet as Suffa*. "An anomaly to be accounted for in this instance, probably, by some difference in lunar and solar reckonings, or some corrections of time. But among all the inaccuracies in which eastern writings abound, no one is more striking than those on points of chronology. The Hejra, our readers will recollect, is the Mahommedan era, marking the flight, which is the meaning of the word, of the impostor from Mekka to Medinah, A.D. 622. This era was not however adopted by the Mahommedans, until seventeen years after the event, when the Khalif Omar established it. The Mahommedans reckon by lunar time; their months being alternately of thirty and twenty-nine days; thirty-two lunar years, and thirteen days or nearly, make thirty-one solar years."

Arabia, are rarely restrained within the bounds of moderation, either in their censures or their praise: and no small share of discernment is requisite in a collator of their annals, in apportioning the degree of credit due to their hyperbolical delineations both of character and fact. In this, as well as in reconciling contradictions and discrepancies, we think Major Price has been successful in no ordinary degree. Future writers and students on subjects connected with the origin and progress of Mahommedanism, will, in their profitable consultation of this laborious work, find their researches much facilitated by the absence of the mass of rubbish which this author has rejected.

Although the early annals of Islâm are, in their most striking feature, little else than a catalogue of atrocities, perpetrated by the cold calculating hand of the ruthless propagators of this dire scourge, it is still certain that the breast of Mahommed was sometimes animated by mild and generous feelings. And his immediate successors are admitted, even by writers of a different sect, to have set high examples of many of the virtues that are most ennobling to man. Respecting Mahommed we will extract a passage or two in which this variety of dispositions will appear; and, if we can find room, will also give others elucidatory of the character of the four illustrious Khalifs who succeeded him: viz. Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ally.

A herald of the prophet was put to death by the people of Syria; and the circumstance is particularly recorded by the oriental historians, as the only instance of such suffering in any of his messengers. Syria had been recently recovered from the Persians by the Greek emperor Heraclius, called Herkal by eastern writers; and it was against this devoted prince, (who, it may be amusing to notice by the way, is described by them, though without any perceptible authority or probability, to have become an ear to 'the faith,') that the wrath of its ferocious chan about to be directed. The expedition to avenge was the first undertaken by them beyond the confines of Arabia. In his valedictory address to the troops, Mahommed is said to have

"Enjoined them in their exertions in, what he was pleased to denominate, the cause of the most High, and in avenging the injury which he had sustained from their enemies the people of Syria, to forbear molesting the harmless sectaries of domestic seclusion; to spare the weaker sex, the infant at the breast, and the aged already hastening from this scene of mortality; to abstain from demolishing

the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants, and from the destruction or mutilation of any species of fruit tree; particularly of the palm, so necessary to the sustenance of men and animals residing under the influence of a burning sun." P 3.

This was in the early stage of his career. In the latest, on his death-bed, at the moment that a man's character is most truly seen, one of his injunctions to his attendant adherents was "to extirpate from the Arabian peninsula the errors of polytheism, and those impious doctrines which presumed to assign associates, or rather rivals in glory, to the Creator of the universe." An injunction to "extirpate an error" was readily understood in the Arabian dialectics of that day, their practical polemics soon furnished them with arguments all-potent to silence the opposition of their heretical antagonists.

In a desperate conflict that took place near Mutha, in consequence of the insult offered to Mahommed, as already noticed, in the person of his messenger, the emperor Heraclius is said to have lost no less than a hundred thousand Syrian and Roman troops, who shamefully abandoned the field to an almost incredible disparity of numbers; having been opposed by only three thousand of those "bold and energetic enthusiasts, in whose hearts the fear of death had been in a great measure obliterated by the prospective glories and rewards of martyrdom."

In elucidation of the following extract referring to the battle, it may be necessary to premise that

"Zeid, the general of the Moslems, boldly advancing the standard of Mahommed, was among the first that fell. He was succeeded in the post of danger and command by Jauffer, the son of Abutaleb, the prophet's cousin, and the brother of his favourite son-in-law and earliest proselyte (Ally). This brave chief having lost both his arms, and continuing notwithstanding to bear the sacred standard in his bosom, also fell covered with wounds."

"On this occasion, we are seriously told by the Mahommedan writers, that providence interposed to annihilate the distance between Mutha and Medemah, in order to bring the occurrences of the field of battle under the immediate view of the prophet. In other words, on a curtain or sheet which he caused to be extended before him, Mahommed pretended to observe the progress of the action, the casualties of which he recited, in the order in which they occurred, to his companions on the spot, three days before any intelligence of the victory was supposed to have reached Medemah. The exertions of Khaled were considered as so far surpassing the ordinary energies of human prowess, that he received from the prophet the appellation of Seyf Ullah, or Sword of God,

which he ever afterwards retained. And to console the afflicted relatives of his kinsman Jauffier, he represented that, in Paradise, in exchange for the arms he had lost, he had been furnished with a pair of wings, resplendent with the blushing glories of the ruby, and with which he was become the inseparable companion of the archangel Gabriel, in his volitations through the regions of eternal bliss. Hence, in the catalogue of martyrs, he has been denominated Jauffier teyaur, the winged Jauffier. But it would be endless to enumerate the fictions imposed by this extraordinary man on the credulity of his followers." P. 5.

The progress of this campaign is detailed in an interesting and pleasing stile. Its successful result, with other instigations, urged Mahommed to a second enterprize, notwithstanding a season of scarcity, in the same quarter.

"The prophet was not to be dissuaded from his resolution by any consideration, and he accordingly summoned his associates to aid him in the equipment of the expedition, and in the relief of those distresses under which the poorer orders of their fellow-citizens were then suffering. The meek and unassuming Abû Bukker set the example of liberality, by consigning the whole of his property to support the expedition; Oman contributed the moiety of his possessions; and Othman gave three hundred camels completely equipped, and a thousand pieces of gold. Others subscribed in proportion, and not a few of the women made a sacrifice of their jewels, to bear a part in the expences of the war." P. 7.

"It is not disagreeable to record these instances of generous patriotism, however ill-directed the views they were intended to promote. Mahommed was thus enabled to equip a very formidable force, with which he marched from Medeinah toward the Syrian frontier: but he was destined at the very outset to experience the most mortifying defection among his followers: his friends the Jews were among the foremost to set the example.

"To their crafty insinuations," we are informed in a preceding page, "this second enterprize has been ascribed. They urged him to the conquest of Syria as an argument of the truth of his divine mission, which could not, they said, be more powerfully convinced than by its manifestation in the peculiar land of prophecy, and the destined scene on which were to be displayed the awful terrors of final judgment." P. 6.

Hence, perhaps, may be discovered one, and an early, cause, of the bitter enmity that Mahommed uniformly exhibited against the unhappy Israelites.

The succeeding stages furnished him with a recurrence of the same mortifications: his troops, ill seconding the pa-

triotic zeal manifested by the citizens of Medcinah, abandoned him in whole divisions. This he affected to make light of, with an observation that strongly exhibits his aptitude and promptness in resource.—“Had there,” said he, “been but a particle of virtue in the composition of these wretched deserters, their destiny would unquestionably have led them to share in my fortunes.” P. 8.

Among the earliest and most virtuous of the converts and adherents of Mahommed, is to be named the venerated Abu Bekr, his father-in-law, and immediate successor in the supremacy both pontifical and civil. The interesting events of his reign are comprised in the second chapter of the Retrospect, towards the conclusion of which the following passages occur descriptive of his character and latter hours.

“—After thus providing to the best of his judgment, for the prosperity and repose of his government, Abû Bukker devoted the fleeting remains of life, to considerations of a more domestic nature. Meek and modest, pious and humble beyond his contemporaries, the first of the successors of Mahommed, in his vest of woollen, had but few private arrangements to embarrass his last moments. He only requested, that his daughter Ayaishah would be responsible for the payment of the very trifling debt of a few dirhems, which he expressed his anxiety to discharge. He then desired that when the awful event should have taken place, from which no created being was exempted, his body should be conveyed to the entrance of the prophet's sepulchre; and if his hope to be laid by the side of his master were favourably received, its gates would be thrown spontaneously open.

“Without descending to a particular enumeration of that catalogue of virtues, which are recorded to have adorned the character of this prince; and which the illustrious Ally, in a species of funeral oration, addressed to the assembled chiefs of Medcinah, sealed by an affirmation, that ‘after the death of their legislator, the community of Islâm would, perhaps, never have to deplore a greater calamity than the loss of that man, of whose mild and pacific virtues the hand of death had then deprived them;’ it will be sufficient to observe, that, however in points of doctrine otherwise hostile, all nations and sects of Mahommedans appear, in this respect, to have discarded all difference of opinion; and to have united in consecrating the memory of Abû Bukker in the general esteem and perpetual veneration of his country.” P. 58.

Ayaishah, the turbulent and ambitious daughter of this meek and pious prince, was the only virgin espoused by Mahommed; and hence, as insufficiently noticed by Major Price, the change in her father's name. He is very seldom called by any other than Father of the virgin. Mahommed's

other wives were widows; and taken by him, apparently, from considerations of their wealth and influence in furtherance of his ambitious projects. Notwithstanding the seditions and undignified features in the character and conduct of this extraordinary woman, and the odium attached to her memory, the appellation by which she is usually designated is mother of the faithful: not however, as it might seem on a cursory perusal of an eastern history, exclusively; for that appellation is extended to the other prolific wives of the prophet; but as their names are seldom mentioned or alluded to, the daring and obtrusive Ayaishah appears to monopolize that respectful title.

Latimah, the offspring of the father and mother of the faithful, was espoused by Ally; by which connexion, through their sons Hussein and Husseyne who were massacred at Kerbela, hath proceeded the race of SEYEDS, or descendants of Mahommed. The word seems to have been formerly equivalent to *Prince*, but has now no such meaning. The Seyeds are however still respected as such in all Mahommedan countries; and generally distinguish themselves by green vestments, or a turban at least of that colour, deemed sacred to the prophet, as having been sanctified by his predilection and adoption. But very different is the estimation in which the character of their uterine progenitor is held—for whatever deference might naturally have been extended by his zealous followers to the person who stood in so tender a relationship with their prophet, had her conduct admitted of such extension, she lived a disreputable tool of the turbulent, and sunk disgracefully in her career of sedition. Thus the author, in concluding the narrative of the busy and interesting scenes in which she was so conspicuous, and in describing her appropriate death, remarks, that “Ayaishah, having rendered herself odious to all parties, appears to have thus ultimately perished without the regret of any.” P. 386.

Respecting the characters of Omar and Osman, the successors of Abu-Bekr, the history of whose reigns occupies the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Retrospect, we will endeavour to find room for some extracts.

“To the prudence of Omar, or rather his singular talent for discernment, the prophet bore ample testimony when he bestowed upon him the appellative of Faurûk anzem*, the great discrimi-

* “He severed from his body the head of a Mahommedan, who, in a dispute with an Israelite, refused to abide by the decision of the prophet. Vide Sale’s excellent translation of the Korân. Vol. I. p. 168.”

water,' (between truth and falsehood); and of his other virtues, if we may be permitted to form an opinion from the 'eulogium' pronounced over his remains, by the competitor of his views on the sovereignty, the brave and liberal minded Ally, the memorial would be abundantly flattering. In this he is made to affirm, that Omar was the person, the record of whose actions, and whose appearance in the presence of his Creator, he wished his own to resemble: neither could he doubt, as they were inseparable in this world, that he should be again united to the favourite of Omnipotence, and the friend of his bosom the faithful Abû Bukker, in the mansions of eternal bliss.

"In short, apart from the lust of foreign conquest and usurpation—in which, unfortunately for mankind, he had too many examples to imitate, and to which he was, perhaps, gradually impelled by circumstances acting upon an intemperate zeal to promote the imposture in which he was engaged—the character assigned him, even by the historians of an adverse party, may in some respects justify us in considering the second successor of Mahomed, among those princes, who, by an impartial distribution of justice, a rigid and prudent economy, and an inflexible integrity in the application of the resources of the state, have added substantial glory, to the deceitful splendors which have been too frequently found to decorate the insignia of royal authority.

"We have already observed that Omar was the first that assumed the title of Ameir ul Moûmencin; the prince or commander of the faithful. He was also the first who adjudged the punishment of eighty lashes to such as disregarded the prohibition against wine; and he set the example, in which he was generally imitated by his successors, of perambulating the streets in disguise, to discover the temper and manners of his people. According to his request, he was buried in the chapel of Ayaishah by the side of Abû Bukker." P. 146.

After a reign of a little more than ten years, Omar, while in the performance of his religious duties in the public mosque of Medcinah, received a mortal wound from the dagger of a Christian slave named Abû Lûlû, whose memory is hence deservedly execrated by the Sûnnihs, or tribe of Omar. But, in the true spirit of sectarian illiberality, the adverse party, the Sheiaks, or adherents of Ally, extol the act; and have dignified the villain its perpetrator with the name of Shuja-ud-dein. the hero of the faith: though by no one more than by the generous leader whose memory is thus disgraced by his partizans, would such an act have been duly reprobated.

The puissant empire of the Khalifs attained, under the reign of Omar, pretty nearly to those limits which, in actual

sovereignty at least, it doth not appear to have exceeded in any period of its history. Not, however, as is remarked by the author in the review which he takes of this vast boundary, that the countries within it were yet in any permanent state of security.

“The great province of Khorassaun was not finally subjugated until the reign of Othman; and many formidable insurrections in different parts of the Persian territory, evinced, on a variety of occasions, that abhorrence of foreign dominion, and regard for the religious rites of their ancestors, which continued to animate the disciples of pyrolatry, until repeated discomfitures, massacre and expulsion, succeeded in blending at length, with a very trifling exception, the vanquished with their oppressors, under the united and powerful sway of the Korân.” P. 147.

Passing however this eventful reign, we proceed to extract a passage delineating the character of Othman.

“To the virtues of this prince, when he was no more, his enemies appear to have done ample justice; the bitterest of whom, even Ayaishah, so strongly suspected of having hastened his destruction, and Saud e Wekauss, seem to have mourned his death with unfeigned sorrow. But if his character were to be estimated from the recorded testimony of his own party, there is scarcely a human excellence in which he will be found wanting. Of surpassing clemency, beneficence and piety; in integrity of mind and purity of manners most eminent; an exemplar to the orthodox, and a most upright and incorruptible judge, he was an inflexible enemy to every species of vice; in vigilance so persevering, and of such patient devotion, that he not unfrequently repeated the whole Korân, in the course of one genuflexion. And lastly, though during the period of a long life, he had exhibited repeated proofs of the most undaunted courage, yet so fixed was his repugnance to the effusion of Mahomedan blood, that even when he saw his life at stake, he persisted to the last moment in forbidding his friends to combat in his defence.”

“Othman derived his name of Zâl Nurein, the possessor of the two stars, from enjoying the envied distinction of having been the husband of two of the prophet's daughters, Rukkeiah and Omm-e Kelthûm, by whom, and six other wives, he was the father of eleven sons and six daughters.” P. 184.

Notwithstanding the panegyrics which we have, from among many others, extracted from the work before us on the three successful rivals of Ally in the succession to the Khelâfet, the character of that illustrious prince still rises above them in our estimation: and indeed on the whole, above that of any exalted individual offered to our contem-

plation in the copious chronicles of Islâm. His name awakens in our minds the most respectful remembrance; and the sad fate of his family cannot but excite the deepest sympathy and compassion. He was the fourth, and, as the transient authority exercised by Imâm Hussun scarcely entitles him to be included among them, the last of the Kholfa rashedein, the orthodox or legitimate successors of Mahommed.

The action of a person so dear to all of the Sheiah sect, are of course recorded with commensurate enthusiasm by writers of that party: but, while making due allowance for the feeling which describes Ally as killing in one night five hundred and twenty-three, or according to another authority, more than nine hundred, of his enemies, we easily recognize in him the most heroic valour, as well as exemplary generosity and disinterestedness. In the sanguinary proceeding alluded to, in which upwards of thirty thousand combatants were slain, Ally is stated to have repeated the tekbeir at each mortal sweep of his celebrated double-edged sword zulfekâr; which committed to memory by an attendant, was considered as competent proof of the extent of the execution. On such slight grounds do oriental historians record as facts, statements of a highly improbable nature. The tekbeir consists in uttering Allâh Akhbâr!—God is great—an exclamation very common in the mouth of Mussulmans, and which served sometimes as a sort of war-whoop, and parole, among the early converts to the faith.

On his death-bed, Ally is said to have acknowledged that, including infidels, and those of his own persuasion against whom the cause of justice had unsheathed his sword, not less than ten thousand individuals had on different occasions fallen by his hand:—an acknowledgment that we may also be permitted to receive with much qualification. Still the inference evidently deducible militates against the received impressions of the magnanimity and generosity and mildness of his character; opposed to which, however, no reproach of cruelty is exhibited even by his political or religious antagonists. Whatever numbers he may have slain, fell fairly, it is averred, in fight, and in contests not sought by him; but provoked by what he might reasonably consider as rebellions against his, and other legitimate authority.

“ He died at the age of sixty-three, after a turbulent and unsettled reign of four years and nine months. His virtues and extraordinary qualifications have been the subject of voluminous panegyrics; and his warlike exploits from his youth upwards have

been particularly celebrated in the * *Khawernamah*, a poem well-known in the east, and which may, perhaps, contend in extravagance with the wildest effusions of European romance. With his acknowledged talents and magnanimity, it is however difficult to account for that train of civil mischief and perpetual discontent, which continued to disturb him through the whole of his reign. His gallant spirit was probably incapable of bending to the ordinary shifts of political craft; and it is perhaps true, that the Arabian chiefs were not yet sufficiently disciplined to quietly see the sovereign authority monopolized by any particular family."

This hero was, like his two immediate predecessors in the *Khelâset*, destined to fall by the dagger of an assassin, whose zeal was whetted in this instance by the persuasions of a beautiful woman, of whose person he could obtain possession only by the murder of Ally. Her rancour sprang from a feeling of revenge for the loss of her father, brother, and husband, in a recent conflict with the *Khalif*, whose head, together with a male and female slave, and three thousand dirhems, was the price fixed by this sanguinary and mercenary woman for her person, which is thus noticed in the characteristic phraseology of the original.

"On his arrival at *Kûfah*, *Eben Mûljûm* became acquainted with, and violently enamoured of, a woman whose uncommon beauty and attractions he was unable to resist; whose name was *Kettaumah*, and of whom, adds our author, might justly be said, that her face was like the glorious reward of the virtuous, and the tresses which adorned her cheek, like the black record of the villain's guilt." P. 357.

To observe and lament the wanton effusion of human blood, is as common as the perusal of history—and no history exhibits a greater prodigality of life than the rise and establishment of *Islâm*, nor more instances of inexorable inhumanity. The massacre at *Kerbela* of upwards of seventy of the sons, grandsons or intimate connexions of the illustrious Ally, is one of the greatest atrocities on record. It is detailed at considerable length, and in an affecting manner, in the work before us, and we had marked some passages for transcription; but as the necessity of abridging it would deprive the recital of part of its interest, we shall altogether omit it. The mind sickens at the contemplation of such turpitude: feels debased at being forced to acknowledge a fellowship of being with the actors in such scenes; and in the record of the particulars, deeply deplores the desolations of

our nature. But there is no piece of history better authenticated, or more amply detailed; and scarcely any historical incident more pathetic. One can scarcely wish to restrain a feeling of satisfaction in knowing that most, if not all of the perpetrators of this horrid and accursed deed, were, as far as this world can witness, condignly punished—all suffered most ignominiously.

Nor doth the justice of this world thus terminate. The memory of all, and the names of many of the murderers are handed down to these times in denouncing anathemas. Hymns and canticles of various sorts are gotten by heart by every Shi'ah, and are publicly chaunted in buildings set apart for the purpose, at the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of Kerbela. This mourning, which is, we believe, very uniformly observed in most Mahommedan countries, continues through the first ten days of the month Moherrem. The mourners issue from the Imambareh, or buildings above mentioned, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, and run in frantic procession through the streets of their towns, vociferating Hassan and Hussein, the revered names of Ally's sons, the principal martyrs of Kerbela, with suitable execrations on the Khalif Yezsid, and his murderous abettors. Two slight fabrics, domed, like Mahommedan tombs, highly ornamented with gilding, &c. are carried about by the crowd. Bloody clothes are sometimes placed in these tombs; and other fictions of pantomimic sorrow are introduced to excite a more lively remembrance, and a stronger feeling of resentment. To such a pitch of frenzy are these fanatics sometimes wrought, that it is not safe for a Sunneh to encounter them. The writer of this article has had opportunities of witnessing these wild processions, and has seen bloodshed and lives lost in such encounters.

We are strongly impelled to remark the frequency of challenges to individual combat, which are recorded in the volume before us, and the avidity with which they were accepted, between parties in the ranks opposed to each other. They forcibly remind us of the candidates for this heroic distinction in the Iliad. The taunting speeches of the duellists, and the unfeeling insolence of the victors, are also similar; and, indeed, substituting Mahommedan and Pagan, or Christian, for Greek and Trojan; and Khaled or Ally, and Kerreib or Gherraur, for Hector and Ajax, and other heroes, the result is truly Homeric. Nay, we have (p. 111) a warrior spreading dismay and ruin through the enemy's ranks disguised in the armour of one still more celebrated. The Mahommedan

Patroclus is not, indeed, slain; nor the armour of the Achilles of the faith lost, or the similarity would have been too complete for accidental coincidence. A reference to pages 44, 110, 119, 280, and others of this first volume, will evince the accuracy of this comparison in a very amusing manner.

Nor were these challenges and combats confined to men of inferior note. Generals and commanders in chief, and even sovereigns, among the early Mahomedans and their opponents, as well as among the Greeks and Trojans, gave and accepted challenges, and contended for mastery in the presence of their armies. Foremost on these occasions, were the Khalif Ally, and the general of cavalry, the heroic and generous Khaled. A poet has immortalized the name and exploits of the latter; and that the reader may form some judgment of the strain of the work, our author has selected and translated these four lines—

“Thy irresistible valour hath hushed the raging tempest; in battle thou hast been armed with the tusks of the elephant, and the jaws of the alligator; thy mace hath hurled the terrors of the day of judgment through the Roman provinces; and the lightning of thy scimitar hath spread wretchedness and mourning among the cities of the Franks.” P. 89.

This fierce and intractable man was, like his apparent prototype Achilles, alive to the potency of female blandishments; and Khaled also persisted, to an extent involving the deep displeasure of the Agamemnon of Islam, in his attachment to *his* bright Briseis.

Tiresome and disgusting it would be to collect half the instances of atrocity detailed in this volume. We shall briefly notice two or three; premising that we are willing to hope for the sake of humanity that a little oriental exaggeration is mixed with the details. A villain “armed with a little brief authority,” finished his bloody career consistently. While in the agonies of dissolution, it was made known to him that certain obnoxious persons, to the number of several hundreds, were in his power. Speechless, and equal only to one slight effort, he passed his hand across his throat, indicating significantly and sufficiently, by this desperate act, the fate of his prisoners. This is told of Yezid, the author of the tragedy at Kerbela. On a par almost with this in point of feeling, is the relation of another wicked eastern despot, who, without interrupting the conversation or amusement in which they may, at the moment, have been engaged, to notify their will as to

an execution, by a slight horizontal motion to and fro of the hand. This would be at once understood, and acted on as a sufficient death warrant. Executions in the East are generally by decapitation.

Of another ferocious tyrant, it is related in the work before us on the authorities enumerated in the early part of this article, that

"Exclusive of those who perished in battle, the amount of whom can be estimated by Him alone who knows all things, there fell by the arbitrary mandates of Hejaufe not less than one hundred and twenty thousand persons. In a dream in which he appeared to some one soon after his death, he is made to declare that although for each of this numerous list of victims of his fury, divine justice was satisfied with inflicting on him the punishment of a single death; yet that for the execution of Sauid alone," (one of his more illustrious victims) "he was condemned to suffer seventy times the agony of dissolution. There were after all found in the different prisons of his government, when Providence thought fit to relieve mankind from his oppressions, full thirty thousand men and twenty thousand women; many of them confined in that species of prison invented by himself, without roof: in which, alternately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and the vicissitudes of cold, heat, and rain, the unhappy victims were left to suffer every variety of pain and wretchedness." P. 480.

On his death bed, haunted by his reflections, he employed confidential persons to ascertain the public opinion of his character; and had the consolation to learn the general hope and belief that the hottest place in hell was assuredly reserved for him.

Another of these monsters swore a tremendous oath, that if it were his fortune to be successful in an enterprize that he was about to undertake, he would not restrain the sword from its course of vengeance, until the blood of his opponents had flowed in a stream sufficient to turn the wheel of a corn mill, and he had appeased his hunger by eating bread prepared from flour so ground. His enterprize succeeded; and he caused twelve thousand of his prisoners to be led into a water course and butchered; and diverting a neighbouring streamlet through its channel, turned a mill with the human gore liquefied, and commingled with the water. His conscience thus appeased by the promised repast, he proceeded to the farther gratification of his vengeance, by causing four thousand more of his prisoners to be gibbeted. This, by the way, appertains also to Yezsid.

Merwaun, another of these instruments of wrath, after

the capture of a fortress, seated himself at one of its gates, and causing the garrison to be led out, one by one, saw their throats cut to the last man. Proceeding in his career, he promised a thousand pieces of gold, and the most beautiful maiden in another fort that resisted him, to the man who should first enter it. The place was captured, and

“ the principal adventurer was punctually paid his thousand dinars, and desired by Merwain to take his choice among the fairest of the female captives. This he accordingly proceeded to do; and having fixed upon a young girl of exquisite beauty, was conducting her downwards from the fort; when, seizing her opportunity, the generous damsel suddenly clasped the odious foreigner in her arms with all the force of female revenge, and casting herself headlong from the works before he could disengage himself from her embrace, they were both together dashed to pieces in the fall. Enraged at such an instance of desperate and mortal antipathy, Merwain caused every human being that was found in the place to be put to death, without mercy and without exemption.” P. 566.

Opposed to these frequent instances of enormity, in which hundreds of thousands of human beings perished,—to such an aggregate, indeed; in the first century of the Mahomedan era, as, making due allowance for the exaggerations of historians, may excite surprize, how, in such countries, such hosts could be produced and reproduced:—opposed to these enormities, occasional instances of humanity are recorded by the Arabian writers, and preserved by the author of the *Retrospect*, who does not withhold from himself and his readers the little consolation to be thence derived; but, with a generous sentiment, indulges in the contemplation of them, as the refreshing Oasis of the moral desert of Arabia.

We were desirous of noticing some parts of this work, in which the author treads the ground preoccupied by Gibbon; but for reasons that may be too obvious, must now decline it—remarking merely, that Major Price, in adhering to the authority of the original sources whence he has drawn the materials for his work, differs considerably in several instances from the relation of that celebrated writer; to whose general accuracy, in-as-far as agreeing in the main with such authorities may deserve that commendation, this *Retrospect* bears honourable testimony. Considering that Mr. Gibbon was unable to consult such original works, his industrious research, and discriminating talents, demand as much praise as can ever be due to great abilities allied to

overweening vanity, and grossly misapplied to purposes for which they were never bestowed.

Our readers will have perceived that our opinion of Major Price's work is favourable; and we were gratified at being accidentally afforded an opportunity of ascertaining, that a similar sentiment prevailed in quarters more important to its author's interests. It is patronized, we understand, by the Indian government, and we are fully warranted in saying that the importance of the subject, the competent knowledge of the author in the language of the originals, his indefatigable patience of enquiry, his judgment in selection, and facility in arranging and communicating the result, give him a fair claim also to the patronage of the literary public.

Notwithstanding the length to which this article is extended, there is yet another topic arising out of the work before us, that we were desirous of discussing at some length; but must be now content with merely glancing at it. This is, the similarity which may be observed in many instances in the conduct of the early Mahomedans and the modern French. The revolutionary and imperial system of warfare and of policy, may have been brought to the recollection of our readers by many of the preceding pages; and we do not think that the likeness would grow faint on a more extended comparison. We have for some time suspected, and now believe, that Bonaparte has projected a considerable, if not a radical, change, in the religion of France, and the countries immediately subjected to, or influenced by, him. What sort of religion such a man may see fit to introduce can be imagined only in the abstract. Its details will hinge on the political expediency of the day; for in his hands religion can be nothing more than an engine of policy. The unyielding spirit of the religion of Christ is ill adapted to his purposes, and he has more than once hinted, that his friends must adopt a different and a more convenient system of morals. That of Mahommed, though not, perhaps, exactly suited to his views, still offers greater pliancy and more facilities: and is as likely as any other, to serve as a basis on which to rear his anti-christian superstructure. The literature of Paris would oppose no material obstacles. The Koran is there much less insulted than the Gospel: and we are disposed to suspect that when it shall seem good to Bonaparte to raise his religious standard, its emblem, without perhaps any exact conformity, will partake much more of the Crescent than of the Cross.

ART. X. *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind.* Volume the Third.
By Joanna Baillie. London, 1812. Longman.

THOUGH it is not to be denied, that the end and purpose of dramatic writing is to affect the mind through the eye and ear by living representations of manners, characters, and events, yet every reader of sensibility feels, that much of the interest which a well written play excites, is wholly independent of the stage and its apparatus. The impression produced by giving utterance to passion and sentiment in their natural language, instead of relating or describing their operations, is so well understood, that the epic poets have perpetually assumed the province of the tragedian to animate their story; and history itself has sometimes borrowed the graces of dramatic composition to give to its facts and characters a fresher colouring and bolder delineation. These effects are, in a great measure, produced by the mere dialogue of the drama, without any aid from personification or scenic exhibition. When the language in which passion is expressed, or rather expresses itself, is faithfully copied, the scene is present to the imagination and the heart of the reader, and a better arrangement for stage effect is often supplied out of the furniture of a creative fancy, than any contrivances of art could produce. To give a sort of ideal presence to a character or a transaction, to embody it, as it were, to the conception of the reader, and to place him in the midst of what he reads, is the privilege of the dramatic poet; but since much is within his power, much is expected of him, and if he moves us only with the force of narration or description, or inspires only a tranquil train of common feelings, we deny to him the honours of success in an art, to which the empire of the passions is committed.

This power of the dramatic art, Miss Baillie has made subservient to her purpose of exhibiting, in detail, the passions of the strongest cast, such as love, hatred, fear, and ambition. And her merit, as it respects invention, appears to consist in this, that, whereas the subject of ancient tragedy was chiefly the accomplishment of some great event, in which the destiny of a hero was involved, the passions being rather the effects, than the causes, of the vicissitudes which befal him;—and, whereas the modern drama so complicates the passion with the facts, and carries it so suddenly to its height by artificial contrivances and violent provocation, that it exhibits few of its complexional hues, or of the steps by which it mounts to its crisis; the

authoress of the present work has framed her incidents in entire subserviency to the display of the passion she has chosen as her subject; shews it to us in its unmixed and specific operation, and acquaints us with the earlier stages of its growth, as it secretly draws its nutriment from the recesses of the heart. Where the passion is necessary to urge on the catastrophe, it must be armed with its full strength for the purpose; and it is for this reason, that, in most of our plays which depend for the development of the story upon the agency of some powerful passion, the passion comes at once full grown into action, is stimulated to its fatal purposes by the conflicts to which it is exposed, and there is time only for the disclosure of that full effulgence in which the shades of its early varieties are assimilated and lost. Keeping her purpose always in her view, Miss Baillic has made the stories of her plays extremely simple, well understanding that intricacy of plot, and the stir and agitation of complex occurrences, would distract the attention from that mental process of the passion by which it slowly arrives at its consummation. And we think it must be admitted, that in her three best performances she has, with great skill, contrived to fix the mind of the reader with so deep an interest on the dreadful phenomena of the victorious passion, as to require no stimulus from multiplied incidents, or the mysterious unravelments of a dark story. The pathos of her two plays of *Basil* and *De Montfort*, in which the passions of love and hate are purely displayed in the manner above described, is so forcibly impressive; the struggles which these passions maintain with opposite qualities, until their ascendancy is complete, are painted with so close an observation of nature; and the storm that accompanies the crisis of the passion, as well as the dead calm that succeeds to the accomplishment, are rendered so picturesque by the magic of this lady's pencil, that we can scarcely think any praise from us above the debt of gratitude we owe her for the pleasure she has given us.

We should have thought neither of these last mentioned plays ill adapted for representation on the stage. *De Montfort*, we believe, has had a trial, but with no good success, though supported by the best acting at this time within the competence of the stage to produce. Perhaps, after all, to the great majority of our mixed audiences, nothing is a substitute for the anxiety of suspense, the flutter of conjecture, and the surprise of discovery, which accompany the mysterious and eventful scenes of our favourite tragedies. Perhaps, too, the ethical delineation of a solitary passion, not exhibiting itself in sudden and desultory emotions, as events excite it to action, but holding the mind in uniform subjection, though with gradually increasing violence,

through the whole drama, requires a delicacy of perception, and refinement of feeling, to comprehend its merit, which is the lot only of a small part of those who assert the right of judging for themselves, if not of deciding for others. We may add, that the features of a passion so diabolical as deadly hate, without an adequate cause, produce too blank and uniform an impression of gloomy disgust in the mind, to be compatible with those transitions of feeling, those mingled perturbations of joy and sorrow, which give vivacity and strength to emotion and sympathy, by the succession of transient reliefs which they afford.

It must be admitted, that the genius of Miss Baillie has but a very limited range of subjects on which it can properly be exercised in fulfilling her plan. After exhausting the topics of hate, love, ambition and fear, she has scarcely any pure unmixed passion remaining. Jealousy and revenge are little more than modifications of love and hate, and must pass, at least, through these passions to their consummation. Anger, joy, grief, hope, and pride, are too transitory or weak in their duration or effects, to suit the design of the authoress. In their simple displays they are calculated rather to give force to the incidents of the piece, and to accompany as their natural attendants those vicissitudes of fortune indicated by the *peripetia* of the Greek tragedians, than to become the entire subjects of dramatic illustration. The characteristics of joy and grief are the same in all mankind, except the superficial differences in the expression, which the modes of education, or the habits of society, may create. The occasions which produce them cannot perpetuate them. They soon mellow into calmer feelings, and expire in their own excesses. Hope, indeed, admits of some continuance, and upon the strength of this quality, Miss Baillie has attempted a play upon it. But it is evident, that though it may continue, it does not vegetate in the bosom like other passions, but becomes gradually weaker by the delay of its accomplishment. Miss Baillie has done the most that could be done with it. She has made a pretty story, in which its eagerness to catch support from shadows, to draw assurances of bliss from trifles lighter than air, to see signs and prognostics in every occurrence, and revelations in every dream, are properly exhibited as the characteristics of this passion at its height; but at its height its influence is confined to the bosom which it inhabits. As we have not yet had an opportunity of delivering our sentiments upon this lady's performances, we think ourselves entitled to take a short retrospective view of some of her earlier productions. But we cannot pass to the consideration of the plays themselves, until we have produced an extract from the introductory

discourse, in which the authoress has very clearly explained the nature and objects of her undertaking.

"But the last part of the task which I have mentioned as peculiarly belonging to tragedy, unveiling the human mind under the dominion of those strong and fixed passions, which, seemingly unprovoked by outward circumstances, will from small beginnings brood within the breast, till all the better dispositions, all the fair gifts of nature are borne down before them, her poets in general have entirely neglected, and even her first and greatest have but imperfectly attempted. They have made use of the passions to mark their several characters, and animate their scenes, rather than to open to our view the nature and portraiture of those great disturbers of the human breast, with which we are all, more or less, called upon to contend. With their strong and obvious features, therefore, they have been presented to us, stripped almost entirely of those less obtrusive, but not less discriminating traits, which mark them in their actual operation. To trace them in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist. We commonly find the characters of a tragedy affected by the passions in a transient, loose, unconnected manner; or if they are represented as under the permanent influence of the more powerful ones, they are generally introduced to our notice in the very height of their fury, when all that timidity, irresolution, distrust, and a thousand delicate traits, which make the infancy of every great passion more interesting, perhaps, than its full-blown strength, are fled. The impassioned character is generally brought into view under those irresistible attacks of their power, which it is impossible to repel; whilst those gradual steps that lead him into this state, in some of which a stand might have been made against the foe, are left entirely in the shade. Those passions that may be suddenly excited, and are of short duration, as anger, fear, and oftentimes jealousy, may in this manner be fully represented; but those great masters of the soul, ambition, hatred, love, every passion that is permanent in its nature, and varied in progress, if represented to us but in one stage of its course, is represented imperfectly. It is a characteristic of the more powerful passions, that they will increase and nourish themselves on very slender aliment; it is from within that they are chiefly supplied with what they feed on; and it is in contending with opposite passions and affections of the mind that we best discover their strength, not with events. But in tragedy it is events more frequently than opposite affections which are opposed to them; and those often of such force and magnitude, that the passions themselves are almost obscured by the splendour and importance of the transactions to which they are attached."

The tragedy of Basil has interested us as much as any of the authoress's productions. The passion of love, which is the subject of it, is certainly not very new in story, but the touches which her genius has imparted to it have all the freshness of originality.

With admirable good sense she has chosen to display its energies in a character distinguished by that determined steadiness, and masculine composure, which best prepare it for resistance, but which, when once the bosom has admitted the passion, are likely to give it a more lasting abode than those impetuous dispositions with which the passion is in general associated. Basil is a character most successfully imagined and delineated with this view. He is presented to us as heroically brave, devoted to military glory, of a strict and stern temper of mind, and rather excessive in the severity of command. The brilliant beauty of Victoria, the daughter of the Duke of Mantua, encounters him in a moment of fatigue, as he enters, after a wearisome march, the city of his professed friend and ally, in his way to join the forces of the emperor. His duty forbids him to lose a moment at this place beyond what is necessary for the refreshment of his troops. The duke, who, though an apparent friend, is secretly hostile to the cause in which Basil is engaged, employs the charms of his daughter to detain him at his court. Her character, which is a very natural mixture of levity and tenderness, of the gentlest affections spoiled by the vain love of admiration, is ably drawn. She lends herself to the purpose of the duke, though entirely ignorant of the intended treachery. The plot succeeds: Basil is overcome; and consents after painful struggles to stay another day. In the mean time the battle of Pavia is fought without him. Victory declares for the allies, though the carnage is dreadful, owing, as it appears, to the absence of Basil. The news of the victory is brought him in a sarcastic message from the army, as he is enjoying the pleasures of the chase in the company of the fair Victoria. His fame and honour are gone. He flies, heart broken, from the society of the beloved author of his ruin, and from the world; and, after wandering for some time amidst tombs and in desert places, yields to the intolerable pressure of his grief, and falls by his own hand. This is the short outline of the story, which seems to us to be very simple, consistent, and probable. The character of Victoria is well marked by the following lines, spoken by her prudent friend the Countess Albina, after a conversation with her, in which she has mixed some wholesome reproof.

“*Albina. (sola.)* Ay, go, and ev’ry blessing with thee go,
My most tormenting, and most pleasing charge!
Like vapour, from the mountain stream art thou,
Which lightly rises on the morning air,
And shifts its fleeting form with ev’ry breeze,
For ever varying, and for ever graceful.
Endearing, gen’rous, bountiful and kind;

Vain, fanciful, and fond of worthless praise ;
 Courteous and gentle, proud and magnificent :
 And yet those adverse qualities in thee,
 No dissonance, nor striking contrast make ,
 For still thy good and amiable gifts
 The sober dignity of virtue wear not,
 And such a witching mix'd thy follies shew,
 They make a very idiot of reproof,
 And smile it to disgrace.—Y

But the character of Victoria is further developed, as is also the tender excess of Basil's love, in the following exquisite scene.

“ ACT IV. SCENE V.—A beautiful grove in the forest. Enter Victoria and Basil, as if just alighted from their horses.

Vic. (*speaking to attendants without.*) Lead on our horses to the further grove,

And wait us there:—

(*To Bas.*) This spot so pleasing and so fragrant is,
 'Twere sacrilege with horses' hoofs to wear
 Its velvet turf, where little elfins dance,
 And fairies sport beneath the summer's moon.
 I love to tread upon it.

Bas. O ! I would quit the chariot of a god
 For such delightful footing !

Vic. I love this spot.

Bas. It is a spot where one would live and die.

Vic. See, thro' the twisted boughs of those high elms,
 The sun-beams on the bright'ning foliage play,
 And tinge the scaled bark with ruddy brown.
 Is it not beautiful ?

Bas. 'Tis passing beautiful,
 To see the sun-beams on the foliage play, (*In a soft voice.*)
 And tinge the scaled bark with ruddy brown.

Vic. And here I've stood full oft, and admir'd
 The graceful bending, o'er that shady pool,
 Of you green willow, whose fair sweepy boughs
 So kiss their image on the glassy plain,
 And bathe their leafy tresses in the stream.

Bas. And I too love to see its drooping boughs
 So kiss their image on the glassy plain,
 And bathe their leafy tresses in the stream.

Vic. My lord, it is uncivil in you thus
 My very words with mock'ry to repeat.

Bas. Nay, pardon me, did I indeed repeat ?
 I meant it not ; but when I hear thee speak,
 So sweetly dwells thy voice upon mine ear,
 My tongue e'en unawares assumes the tone ;
 As mothers on their lisping infants gaze,
 And catch their broken words. I pri'thee, pardon !

Vict. But we must leave this grove : the birds fly low ;
This should forbode a storm, and yet o'erhead
The sky, bespread with little downy clouds
Of purest white, would seem to promise peace.
How beautiful those pretty snowy clouds !

Bas. Of a most dazzling brightness !

Vict. Nay, nay, a veil that tempers heaven's brightness !
Of softest, purest white.

Bas. As tho' an angel, in his upward flight,
Had left his mantle floating in mid air.

Vict. Still most unlike a garment ; small and sever'd :

(*Turning round and perceiving that he is gazing at her.*)

But thou regard'st them not.

Bas. Ah ! what should I regard, where should I gaze ?
For in that far-shot glance, so keenly wak'd,
That sweetly rising smile of admiration,
Far better do I learn how fair heav'n is,
Than if I gaz'd upon the blue serene."

Behold the picture of the desponding, broken-hearted warrior,
in his melancholy hiding place.

"*Bas.* No sound is here : man is at rest, and I
May near his habitations venture forth,
Like some unblessed creature of the night,
Who dares not meet his face.—Her windows dark ;
No streaming light doth from her chamber beam,
That I once more may on her dwelling gaze,
And bless her still. All now is dark for me !

(*Pauses for some time, and looks upon the graves.*)

How happy are the dead, who quietly rest
Beneath these stones ! each by his kindred laid,
Still in a hallow'd neighbourhood with those,
Who when alive his social converse shar'd :
And now perhaps some dear surviving friend
Doth here at times the grateful visit pay,
Read with sad eyes his short memorial o'er,
And bless his mem'ry still !
But I, like a vile outcast of my kind,
In some lone spot must lay an unburied corse,
To rot above the earth ; where, if perchance
The steps of human wand'ring e'er approach,
He'll stand aghast, and flee the horrid place,
With dark imaginations frightful made
The haunt of damned sprites. O cursed wretch !
In the fair and honour'd fields shouldst thou have died,
Where brave friends, proudly smiling thro' their tears,
Had pointed out the spot where Basil lay !

(*A light seen in Victoria's window.*)

But ha ! the wonted, welcome light appears.

How bright within I see her chamber wall!
 Athwart it too, a dark'ning shadow moves,
 A slender woman's form : it is herself!
 What means that motion of its clasped hands?
 That drooping head alas ! is she in sorrow?
 Alas ! thou sweet enchantress of the mind,
 Whose voice was gladness, and whose presence bliss,
 Art thou unhappy too? I've brought thee woe ;
 It is for me thou weep'st. Ah ! were it so,
 I'd fall'n as I am I yet could life indure,
 In some dark den from human sight conceal'd,
 So that I sometimes from my haunt might steal,
 To see and love thee still. No, no, poor wretch !
 She weeps thy shame, she weeps, and scorns thee too.
 She moves again ; e'en darkly imag'd thus,
 How lovely is that form ! (*Pauses, still looking at the window.*)
 To be so near thee, and for ever parted !
 For ever lost ! what art thou now to me?
 Shall the departed gaze on thee again?
 Shall I glide past thee in the midnight hour,
 Whilst thou perceiv'st it not, and think'st perhaps
 'Tis but the mournful breeze that pass'd by !
 (*Pauses again, and gazes at the window till the light disappears.*)
 'Tis gone, 'tis gone ; these eyes have seen their last !
 The last impression of her heavenly form :
 The last sight of those walls wherein she lives :
 The last blest ray of light from human dwelling.
 I am no more a being of this world.
 Farewell ! farewell ! all now is dark for me !
 Come fated deed ! come horror and despair !
 Here lies my dreadful way."

The progress of hatred which is traced with the hand of original genius, in the character of De Montfort, affords Miss Baillie an equally good occasion for evincing her knowledge of nature, and her acquaintance with the sources of the pathetic and the terrible. The hatred of De Montfort to the Marquis Rezenvelt is certainly inspired by no adequate cause : but such a constitution of mind as the authoress has given to De Montfort being once supposed, we have no difficulty in admitting the power of the little vexatious circumstances in the behaviour of Rezenvelt to exalt the passion of hatred to its highest excess. A tinge of natural goodness in the disposition of De Montfort raises in us a sort of melancholy commiseration for him, notwithstanding all the turpitude of his conduct, and the art with which this is done by the writer, blending opposites without inconsistency, and producing sympathy in the distress without diminishing the abhorrence of the guilt, cannot be too much ad-

mixed. We are of opinion, however, notwithstanding the apology made by the writer at the end of the play, that the three last lines might well have been spared, though they are put into the mouth of an affectionate sister; as they are calculated to leave a last impression on the reader or hearer very opposite to the moral and just conclusion which ought to follow from such a tremendous exposition of the effects of a passion, the most odious among those which prey upon human happiness. We will extract the midnight scene in the wood in which the murderous effect of the horrid hatred of De Montfort takes place

*“ De Mont. How hollow groans the earth beneath my tread !
Is there an echo here ? Methinks it sounds
As tho’ some heavy footstep follow’d me.
I will advance no farther.*

*Deep settled shadows rest across the path,
And thickly-tangled boughs o’erhang this spot.
O that a tenfold gloom did cover it !
That ’midst the murky darkness I might strike,
As in the wild confusion of a dream,
Things horrid, bloody, terrible do pass,
As tho’ they pass’d not ; nor impress the mind
With the fix’d clearness of reality.*

*(An owl is heard screaming near him.)
(Starting.)* What sound is that ? *(Listens, and the owl cries again.)*
It is the screech-owl’s cry.

Foul bird of night ! what spirit guides thee here ?
Art thou instinctive drawn to scenes of horror ?
I’ve heard of this.

(Pauses and listens.)

How those fall’n leaves so rustle on the path,
With whispering noise, as tho’ the earth around me
Did utter secret things !

The distant river too, bears to mine ear
A dismal wailing. O mysterious night !
Thou art not silent ; many tongues hast thou.
A distant gath’ring blast sounds thro’ the wood,
And dark clouds fleetly hasten o’er the sky :
O ! that a storm would rise, a raging storm ;
Amidst the roar of warring elements

I’d lift my hand and strike ! but this pale light,
The calm distinctness of each stilly thing,
Is terrible. *(Starting.)* Footsteps are near—

He comes ! he comes ! I’ll watch him farther on—
I cannot do it here.

[Exit.]

[Enter Rezervelt, and continues his way slowly from the bottom of the stage : as he advances to the front the owl screams, he stops and listens, and the owl screams again.]

Rez. Ha ! does the night-bird greet me on my way ?
How much his hooting is in harmony

With such a scene as this ' I like it well.
Oft when a boy, at the still twilight hour,
I've leant my back against some knotted oak,
And loudly mimic'd him, till to my call
He answer would return, and, thro' the gloom,
We friendly converse held.

Between me and the star-bespangled sky
Those aged oaks their crossing branches wave,
And thro' them look the pale and placid moon,
How like a crocodile, or winged snake,
Yon sailing cloud bears on its dusky length !
And now transformed by the passing wind,
Methinks it seems a flying Pegasus.

Alas, but a shapeless band of blacker hue
Come swiftly after.—

A hollow mumm'ring wind sounds thro' the trees ;

I hear it from afar, this bodes a storm.

I must not linger here— *(A bell heard at some distance.)*

The convent bell.

'Tis distant still : it tells their hour of prayer.

It sends a solemn sound upon the breeze,

That to a fearful superstitious mind,

In such a scene, would like a death-knell come.

[Exit.]

For the progress and consummation of ambition the authoress in her play of Ethwald takes a larger space. She carries it on through two parts ; giving as her reason for it, that this is a passion which "acquires strength from gratification, and after having gained one object, still sees another rise before it, to which it as eagerly pushes on. To give a full view, therefore, says the writer, of this passion, it was necessary to shew the subject of it in many different situations, and passing through a considerable course of events." The reasonableness of this apology could not be denied, if any thing could be a sufficient apology for the extension of any subject beyond those bounds at which the interest of the piece demands that it should stop. We cannot help confessing that Ethwald taken as a whole is dull and heavy ; but we claim for it, in respect to its detached parts, at least as much admiration as either Basil or De Montfort has deserved. We will endeavour to prove the truth of this latter observation, by the production of a passage or two. And first, we will present to the reader the soliloquy of a prince while in the dungeon, into which the ambition of Ethwald has thrown him, and in which he is murdered by his order.

"Ed. Doth the bright sun from the high arch of heaven,
In his all beauteous robes of flecker'd clouds,
And ruddy vapours, and deep glowing flames,

And softly varied shades, look gloriously?
 Do the green woods dance to the wind? the lakes
 Cast up their sparkling waters to the light?
 Do the sweet hamlets in their bushy dells
 Send winding up to heaven their curling smoke,
 On the soft morning air?
 Do the flocks bleat, and the wild creatures bound,
 In antic happiness? and mazy birds
 Wing the mid air in lightly skimming bands?
 Ay, all this is; all this men do behold;
 The poorest man. Even in this lonely vault,
 My dark and narrow world, oft do I hear
 The crowing of the cock so near my walls,
 And sadly think how small a space divides me
 From all this fair creation.
 From the wide spreading bounds of beauteous nature
 I am alone shut out; I am forgotten.
 The air feels chill; methinks it should be night.
 I'll lay me down: perchance kind sleep will come,
 And open to my view an inward world
 Of gairish fantasies, from which nor walls,
 Nor bars, nor tyrants power can shut me out."

The night-watching misery of the remorse-struck murderer is exquisitely portrayed in the following passage.

"*Ethw.* Still must this heavy closeness thus oppress me?
 Will no fresh stream of air breathe on my brow,
 And ruffle for a while this stilly gloom?
 O night, when good men rest, and infants sleep!
 Thou art to me no season of repose,
 But a fear'd time of waking more intense,
 Of life more keen, of misery more palpable.
 My rest must be when the broad sun doth glare;
 When armour rings and men walk to and fro.
 Like a tir'd hound stretch'd in the busy hall,
 I needs must lie; night will not cradle me.
 (looking up anxiously to the windows.)
 What, looks the moon still thro' that lofty arch?
 Will't ne'er be morn?"

The horrors of his fancy are depicted in the following scene.

"*Ethw.* Thou shalt not go and leave me thus alone
Qu. I'll soon return again, and all around thee
 Is light as noon-day.
Ethw. Nay, nay, good wife! it rises now before me
 In the full blaze of light.
Qu. Ha! what mean'st thou?
Ethw. The faint and shadowy forms,
 That in obscurity were wont to rise

In sad array, are with the darkness fled.
 But what avails the light? for now, since sickness
 Has press'd upon my soul, in my lone moments.
 E'en in the full light of my torch-clad walls,
 A horrid spectre rises to my sight,
 Close by my side, and plain and palpable,
 In all good seeming and close circumstance,
 As man meets man.

Qu. Mercy upon us! What form does it wear?

Ethw. My murder'd brother's form.

He stands close by my side: his ghastly head
 Shakes horribly upon its sever'd neck
 As if new from the heads-man's stroke; it moves
 Still as I move; and when I look upon it,
 It looks—No, no! I can no utterance find
 To tell thee how it looks on me again.

Qu. Yet, fear not now: I shall not long be absent;
 And thou may'st hear my footsteps all the while,
 It is so short a space.

(*Exit Queen.*)

Ethw. (*returning to the middle of the stage.*)

I'll fix my steadfast eyes upon the ground,
 And turn to other things my tutor'd thoughts
 Intently. (*after pausing for a little while, with his clenched hands crossed
 upon his breast, and his eyes fixed upon the ground.*)

It may not be: I feel upon my mind

The horrid sense that precludes still its coming.

Elburga! ho, Elburga! (*putting his hand before his eyes and calling
 out with a strong voice of fear.*)

Enter Queen in haste.

Qu. Has't come again?

Ethw. No, but I felt upon my pausing soul
 The sure and horrid sense of its approach.
 Hadst thou not quickly come, it had ere now
 Been frowning by my side."

The scene of the witches, predicting the future fortunes of Ethwald, is so close upon Macbeth to deserve the honour of invention; and upon the whole, we cannot help admiring the ambition of the authoress to tread in the steps of Shakspeare in one of his best plays, and wherein it must be owned the progress of ambition, from its earliest symptoms to its fatal consummation, is finished within the ordinary compass of a single play, and so finished, as to leave nothing undisplayed, by which the nature and career of the passion can be indicated.

The subject of the first of the series in this third volume is *fear*: a passion, it must be owned, to which some contempt attaches, and which is apt to depress the character to which it

belongs so low in our esteem, as to deprive it of its power to excite our sympathies. Miss Baillic seems to have been fully aware of this consequence, and she has shown great skill in avoiding it. In the first place, the fear which she has made the subject of this play, is superstitious fear, a modification of it which is known to inhabit many noble and generous minds, particularly where the imagination is lively and creative. There are perhaps few persons, whatever may be their general fortitude, in whose minds impressions of horror may not be gradually produced, where circumstances conspire to keep the thought for a considerable time employed upon these gloomy and terrific fancies. The more delicate structure of the female mind renders it more liable to fall under the domination of such vain terrors, and surely we may imagine a female of great worth and excellence to be the victim of her own disordered thoughts, where pains are taken, with every help from time, place, and circumstance, to bewilder her brain, and conjure up before her the chimeras of supernatural horror. At all, however, it must be owned, that the passion of fear though a most fit subject for poetic imagery, as no one can deny who is at all conversant with the *Tamie Queen*, is ill adapted for dramatic representation. Love, hate, jealousy, revenge, ambition, are *active* instruments, affecting the happiness of others as much as that of this agent himself, they must have objects and victims, a sort of atmosphere of suffering and sympathy encircles and pursues them; but fear, especially superstitious fear, acts only upon itself—it spends itself in its own emotions, it has no companionship in suffering; a fanciful progeny of its own creation invests it, insulating it from the cheerful partnership of human interests, and the wants and cares, the sorrows and the joys of the surrounding throng.

The fear of Osterloo, who is the hero of the second play in this volume, is not superstitious fear, but a fear generated in the mind of a man naturally brave, and intrepid in the field by the dreadful anticipation of a sudden removal to a new state of being by the stroke of the executioner, working upon a conscience defiled with the stain of murder, and aggravated by a night of confinement near the scene of the guilty transaction. "It is not," says Miss Baillic, "the want of fortitude to bear bodily sufferings, or even deliberately inflicted death, under the circumstances commonly attending it, that the character of Osterloo exhibits. It is the horror he conceives at being suddenly awakened to the awful retributions of another world, from having the firm belief of them forced at once upon his mind by extraordinary circumstances, which so miserably quells an other-

wise undaunted spirit. "I only contend," continues this writer, "for the consistency of brave men shrinking from passive sufferings, and unknown chances, to shew that so far from transgressing, I have in this character kept within the bounds which our experience of human nature would have allowed me."

We are afraid, however, that a subject which requires so laboured a defence, is proved by that circumstance alone to be not a very fit subject for the drama, which ought surely to deal only in those representations, the probability of which has its witness in the heart, and its illustration in the experience of all mankind. Both these plays, however, contain passages of great splendor, and exquisite pathos. We will select two or three from the play of Orta. It is thus that the superstitious disposition of Orta is wrought upon by the designing Catharina.

Or. Thou runn'st me fast, good Alice: Do not dash
This shall be writing to us. Ev'ry season
Shall have its suited pastime; even Winter
In its deep noon, when mountains piled with snow,
And chok'd up valleys from our mansion bar
All entrance, and nor guest nor traveller
Sounds at our gate; the empty hall forsaking,
In some warm chamber, by the crackling fire,
We'll hold our little, snug, domestic court,
Plying our work with song and tale between.

Cath. And stories too, I ween, of ghosts and spirits,
And things unearthly, that on Michael's eve
Rise from the yawning tombs.

Or. Thou thinkest then one night o' th' year is truly
More horrid than the rest.

Cath. Perhaps 'tis only silly superstition:
But yet it is well known the Count's brave father
Would rather on a glacier's point have lain,
By angry tempests rock'd, than on that night
Sunk in a downy couch in Brunier's castle.

Or. How pray? What fearful thing did scare him so?

Cath. Hast thou ne'er heard the story of Count Hugo,
His ancestor, who slew the hunter-knight?

Or. (*cagerly*) Tell it, I pray thee.

Al. Catharina, tell it not: it is not right:
Such stories ever change her cheerful spirits
To gloomy pensiveness; her rosy bloom
To the wan colour of a shrouded corpse.
(*To Orta*) What pleasure is there, Lady, when thy hand,
Cold as the valley's ice, with hasty grasp
Seizes on her who speaks, while thy shrunk form
Cowering and shivering stands with keen turn'd ear
To catch what follows of the pausing tale?

Or. And let me cower and stand, and be my touch
The valley's ice: there is a pleasure in it.

Al. Say'st thou indeed there is a pleasure in it?

Or. Yea, when the cold blood shoots through every vein:
When every hair's-pit on my shrunken skin
A knotted knoll becomes, and to mine ears
Strange inward sounds awake, and to mine eyes
Rush stranger tears, there is a joy in fear. (*Catching hold of Cathrina.*)
Tell it, Cathrina, for the life within me
Beats thick, and stirs to hear it.
He slew the hunter-knight?

Cath. Since I must tell it, then, the story goes,
That grim Count Wallenberg, the ancestor
Of Hughobert and also of yourself,
From hatred or from envy, did decoy
A noble knight, who hunted in the forest,
Well the Black Forest named, into his castle,
And there, within his chamber, murder'd him—

Or. Merciful Heaven! and in my veins there runs
A murderer's blood. Said'st thou not, murder'd him?

Cath. Aye; as he lay asleep, at dead of night.

Or. A deed most horrible!

Cath. It was on Michael's eve; and since that time,
The neighb'ring hinds oft hear the midnight yell
Of spectre-hounds, and see the spectre shapes
Of huntsmen on their sable steeds, with still
A nobler hunter riding in their van
To cheer the desp'rate chace, by moonlight shewn,
When wanes its horn, in long October nights.

Or. This hath been often seen?

Cath. Aye, so they say.

But, as the story goes, on Michael's eve,
And on that night alone of all the year,
The hunter-knight himself, having a horn
Thrice sounded at the gates, the castle enters;
And, in the very chamber where he died,
Calls on his murd'rer, or in his default
Some true descendant of his house, to loose
His spirit from its torment; for his body
Is laid i' the earth unblest, and none can tell
The spot of its interment."

In another place, the same contrivance is carried on by the
mischievous Cathrina.

"(*They sit, Orra drawing her chair close to Cathrina.*)

What story shall I tell thee?

Or. Something, my friend, which thou thyself hast known
Touching the awful intercourse which spirits
With mortal men have held at this dread hour.
Did'st thou thyself e'er meet with one whose eyes

Had look'd upon the spectred dead—had seen
Forms from another world?

Cath. Never but once.

Or. (*eagerly*) Once then thou didst! O tell it! Tell it me!

Cath. Well; since I needs must tell it, once I knew
A melancholy man, who did aver,
That journ'ying on a time; o'er a wild waste,
By a fell storm o'erta'en, he was compell'd
To pass the night in a deserted tower,
Where a poor hind, the sole inhabitant
Of the sad place, prepar'd for him a bed.
And, as he told his tale, at dead of night,
By the pale lamp that in his chamber burn'd,
As it might be an arm's length from his bed.—

Or. So close upon him?

Cath. Yes.

Or. Go on; what saw he?

Cath. An upright form, wound in a clotted shroud—
Clotted and stiff, like one swaith'd up in haste
After a bloody death.

Or. O horrible!

Cath. He started from his bed and gaz'd upon it.

Or. And did he speak to it?

Cath. He could not speak.

It's visage was uncover'd, and at first
Seem'd fix'd and shrunk, like one in coffin'd sleep:
But, as he gaz'd, there came, he wist not how,
Into its beamless eyes a horrid glare,
And turning towards him, for it did move,—
Why dost thou grasp me thus?

Or. Go on, go on!

Cath. Nay, heaven forfend! Thy shrunk and sharpen'd features
Are of the corse's colour, and thine eyes
Are full of tears. How's this?

Or. I know not how.

A horrid sympathy jarr'd on my heart,
And forced into mine eyes these icy tears."

The horrid impressions that have bewildered Orra's imagination, and bereaved her of her senses, are represented with inimitable force; it is thus the meeting with her friends, after the night of horror is over, as she approaches from the cavern, in a wild distracted state, is described.

"*Or.* Come back, come back! The fierce and fiery light!

Theo. Shrink not, dear love! it is the light of day.

Or. Have cocks crow'd yet?

Theo. Yes; twice I've heard already
Their matin sound. Look up to the blue sky;

Is it not day-light there? And these green boughs
Are fresh and fragrant round thee: every sense
Tells thee it is the cheerful early day.

Or. Aye so it is; day takes his daily turn,
Rising between the gulphy dells of night
Like whiten'd billows on a gloomy sea.
Till glow-worms gleam, and stars peep thro' the dark,
And will-o'-the-wisp his dancing taper light,
They will not come again.

(Bending her ear to the ground.)

Hark, hark Aye, hark:
They are all there: I hear their hollow sound
Full many a fathom down.

Theo. Be still, poor troubled soul! they'll ne'er return:
They are for ever gone. Be well assured
Thou shalt from henceforth have a cheerful home
With crackling faggots on thy midnight fire,
Blazing like day around thee; and thy friends—
Thy living, loving friends still by thy side,
'To speak to thee and cheer thee—So my Orra!
They are beside thee now; dost thou not know it now?

(Pointing to Ellen, Maria, and Alice.)

Or. *(gazing at them with her hand held up to shade her eyes)*
No, no! at least the wav'ring garish light,
Things move and seem to be, and yet are nothing.

Ell. *(going near her)* My gentle Orra! hast thou then forgot me?
Dost thou not know my voice?

Or. 'Tis like an old tune to my ear return'd.
For there be those, who sit in cheerful halls
And breathe sweet air, and speak with pleasant sounds;
And once I liv'd with such; some years gone by;
I wot not now how long."

If our space would allow us, we could devote many more pages, with great pleasure, to the consideration of these fine specimens of original genius. We are obliged, however, by the press of matter, to bring this article to a conclusion. Our readers will perceive that we have taken no notice of the comedies. But we cannot let it be supposed that it is only want of room which has occasioned us to omit them. After the delight we have received from the poetical beauties of Miss Baillie's tragedies, we feel it a sort of ingratitude to dwell at any length upon her failures. But critical justice imposes upon us the obligation of saying, that we have received but little pleasure from her comic muse. We are, indeed, of opinion that comedy was not a proper vehicle for her purpose. The passions, in their intensities, produce too dangerous a commotion, to correspond with the gaiety of the comic plan and purpose. They may be vulgar, brutal,

loathsome, and distorted; but their effects are too injurious to be the sport of mirth, or the source of pleasurable emotions.

In a mixed and qualified state, these disturbers of the soul's rest may be exhibited with good effect in the comic scene; but such comedies would be no proper parallels to Miss Baillie's tragedies, or consistent with her avowed purpose; viz. to pursue the career of the passion, from its simple elementary beginnings, through the several stages of its increase; from the spark that first sets the bosom on fire, to the conflagration that desolates the scene of its fury.

Transient bursts of passion, when their effects are restrained and prevented, are not inconsistent with the spirit of comedy: they stimulate the action, and afford opportunities for instructive displays of sentiment and character, without detaining the mind too long under the impression of painful emotions: but where a single passion is to be kept always in the view, and to be carried through its naturally tumultuous career, it must destroy, or be destroyed by, that varied exhibition of character and manners, and that vivacity of dialogue, which are the proper constituents of comedy. We can with great propriety, however, recommend the reader to peruse the admirable remarks of Miss Baillie, in her introduction, on the general nature, and the present state, of the comic drama. One of these remarks is really so just and important, at a time when it is so much the practice of our schools to make boys personate the low, tricking, and debauched characters of the ancient comedy, that we cannot pass it by.

"In busy or circumstantial comedy, all those ingenious contrivances of lovers, guardians, governautes, and chamber-maids; that bush-fighting amongst closets, screens, chests, easy-chairs, and toilet-tables, form a gay varied game of dexterity and invention: which, to those who have played at hide and seek, who have crouched down, with beating heart, in a dark corner, whilst the enemy groped near the spot; who have joined their busy school-mates in many a deep-laid plan to deceive, perplex, and torment the unhappy mortals deputed to have the charge of them, cannot be seen with indifference. Like an old hunter, who pricks up his ears at the sound of the chase, and starts away from the path of his journey, so, leaving all wisdom and criticism behind us, we follow the varied changes of the plot, and stop not for reflection. The studious man who wants a cessation from thought, the indolent man who dislikes it, and all those who, from habit or circumstances, live in a state of divorce from their own minds, are pleased with an amusement in which they have nothing to do but to open their eyes and behold. The moral tendency of it, however, is very faulty. That mockery of age and domestic authority, so constantly held

forth, has a very bad effect upon the younger part of an audience; and that continual lying and deceit in the first characters of the piece, which is necessary for conducting the plot, has a most pernicious one."

We cannot shut up these volumes, from which we have received so much instruction and delight, without lamenting that their pages should so frequently be stained with oaths and exclamations very useless as adjuncts of the glowing passages to which they are annexed, and very shocking to minds in which a just reverence for the awful name of the Creator prevails.

We can assure Miss Baillie that this remark is not dictated by puritanism or affectation. If we did not highly value her works, and respect her character, nay, if she had not made a solemn and interesting declaration of her religious impressions, we should not have stopped to make this remonstrance. We have no doubt that the instances have arisen from the impetuosity of her feelings in the ardour of composition. We refer her to Vol. i. pp. 391, 407. Vol. ii. p. 86. But many other instances occur.

There are a great many passages in the comedies, on the vulgarity of which we should have strongly commented, if we had more time and room. We must be content with making a general appeal from Miss Baillie to Miss Baillie;—from her partial and occasional improprieties, to the clear and correct standard of her general taste.

ART. XI. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ. *Euripidis Hippolytus Coronifer. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum ac veterum Editionum emendavit et annotationibus instruxit Jacobus Henricus Monk, A. M. SS. Trinitatis Collegii Socius, et Græcarum Literarum apud Cantabrigienses Professor Regius. Cantabrigiæ: Typis ac sumptibus Academicis excudit J. Smith; Veneunt Londini, apud T. Payne, &c. 1811. 8vo. pp. 176.*

FROM the opening of the last century, till within a very few years past, the Cambridge University press had appeared sunk in a kind of listless inactivity. Not a single work of importance had issued from it during the whole of that period. Its funds had been employed in committing to print little else but pamphlets and school-books; in a manner totally inconsistent with its former typographical celebrity. There was a time, when

it could put into the hands of the literary world such works as Kuster's Suidas, Taylor's Demosthenes, and Barnes's Euripides. The resources of the Clarendon press, it must be allowed, are much more copious; and this may help to account for the superiority which Oxford has in this respect acquired over the sister University.

Of late years, however, it should seem that Cambridge has felt sensible of her inferiority; and ashamed of her past neglect, has on a sudden risen up to dispute the palm in neatness, at least, of Greek typography. Excited by the example of her late Professor Porson, she has given to the public within the space of two years, two of the most beautiful specimens of Greek type ever exhibited by any press; Mr. Blomfield's edition of the Prometheus Vincetus, and Mr. Professor Monk's Hippolytus Coronifer.

Mr. Porson, as we have been told, some little time before his death, had it in contemplation to form models of each Greek character as nearly consistent as possible with the fashion of the letters in the earliest Greek MSS. Comparing these with Greek inscriptions of the earlier ages, he has been able to reduce the formation of the Greek character to a regular system. And we see the result of this minute attention in the perfection of his Greek transcriptions, superior in neatness and elegance to those of the ancient copyists. His zeal carried him a step further; and in order that the models of each letter, which were afterwards to become the standard Greek type of the Cambridge University press, might be minutely correct, we have been told that he put into the hands of the Syndics a complete Greek alphabet, with the form of each letter, as he conceived it should be represented, drawn upon black flints with pieces of copper wire.

The types of Bodoni, and those in which Auger's Demosthenes has been printed, have ceased to merit the applause of the scholar. The letters are disgustingly luxuriant, and, we will venture to say, very different from any thing ever written by the Greeks themselves. By a *British* press however has this vitiated taste been corrected; and the eye of the scholar now peruses, with a satisfaction bordering on delight, the PORSONIC TYPE.

It has been a general complaint amongst scholars that what has been left to us by the late Professor, bears a great disproportion, in point of *quantity*, to what might have been expected from the talents and acquirements of so great a critic. But these are general conclusions, made without a sufficient consideration of the sources from which they are drawn. Porson's life was comparatively short; he was a

man eminently conversant in almost every species of polite learning, though it was his study of the Greek that engrossed the greater part of his attention. When therefore, throwing for a moment all other pursuits out of consideration, we take into our view the immensity of matter connected with Greek literature, over which his mind must have expanded itself, to have performed what he has done, we cannot feel justified in accusing him of idleness and neglect. To have amassed materials sufficient to have enabled him to edit four plays of Euripides in the way that he did edit them, would have taken any man of ordinary abilities double the time that he lived.—And it is to be remembered that to him belongs the glory of having pointed out a new system of criticism, superior to all others, and to have thus rendered the path of the scholar secure and pleasant.

The *Hippolytus* of Euripides, which, it should seem, in general arrangement, has always been placed next to the *Medea*, has been taken up by Mr. Porson's successor, Mr. Professor Monk; who has certainly displayed a degree of learning and ability which it would be invidious to bring into comparison with those of his eminent predecessor. It is to be regretted that he was not possessed of an opportunity of referring to more MSS.; for in the list which he has prefixed to the play, it appears that he has merely given us the lections of MSS. already consulted by Musgrave and Valckenaer, and that they are all extracted from printed books. To make some amends, however, he has enriched his edition of the play with several observations of Professor Porson, which he has carefully collected, as well from the papers of that great critic, now lodged in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, as from the contributions of several learned men of the age. In the arrangement of the choric parts he has shewn so much metrical skill, that we hesitate not to class him among the greatest in that department.

In his notes on the four first plays of Euripides, Mr. Porson presents himself in the characters of *critic* and *grammarian*, almost to the exclusion of that of *commentator*; he has given the various lections of MSS. and early editions, compared them, sifted them, and communicated the reasons for his preferences among the various readings.

Mr. Monk has combined the offices of the *grammarian*, the *critic*, and the *commentator*, so that his notes, at times, savour strongly of German prolixity. It seems to us that he would have done better if he had followed Mr. Blomfield's plan, and separated the *critical* from the *explanatory* matter. In his quotations from Valckenaer he is too profuse: and for this he merits reprehension, as the notes of Porson on the *Phœnissæ*, which also has been

edited by Valckenaer, are not so long, when taken collectively, as those upon any other of the three plays. We are sorry too to see that Mr. Monk has not scrupled, once, twice, or even thrice, to borrow from Valckenaer without acknowledging it. This we are willing to impute rather to inadvertency, than design. But to *forget* obligations, is only less faulty than to remember them, without confessing them.

In imitating Mr. Porson in the style of his notes, he has approached at times almost to parody; and in the close of his preface he, as well as Mr. Blomfield in the preface to the *Prometheus Vincetus*, has copied not only the thought, but also the greatest part of the words, which form the concluding sentence in Porson's supplement to his preface to the *Hecuba*.

We are willing, however, to give Mr. Monk our humble praise for the manner in which he has executed this performance. He has been industrious in the extreme; and the chief fault which we venture to find in him, is a propensity to surcharge his notes with a multiplicity of observations. In the second edition of the *Hippolytus*, we hope to see them somewhat abridged; otherwise we shall begin to suspect that he has been giving us a *variorum edition* under another name.

For the convenience of our readers, we shall arrange our observations on the play in regular order, that they may be able with greater readiness to refer to the several parts, on which we are disposed to comment.

V. 3. "*κέκλημαι*," says the professor, "*significat sum, quo sensu apud Tragicos non infrequens est.*" Of the truth of this assertion, which is evidently deduced from the remark of Porson appended to the note, we are thoroughly convinced. At the same time, upon more minute consideration, it should seem that its import is in general more emphatic than may at first sight appear; and we strongly suspect that of the parallel instances quoted in the note on this passage, all, except that from the *Trachiniæ*, are foreign to the purpose. In the line from the *Persæ*,

οὐ τινος δούλοι κέκληνται φητὸς, οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

κέκληνται is meant to express more than *εἶσι* could have done; as common feeling and the spirit of the passage clearly shew. To have asserted merely the fact, that "*they are the slaves of no man*," would have been cold indeed, compared with what we conceive to have been the full force of the passage. The precise meaning we take to be this; "*the Persians are known by the title of the subjects of the great king; but they [the Greeks] are by fame and character known to be the slaves of no man.*"

Generally speaking, the word has reference to *fame, character*, good or bad;—of the former class are the following instances:

ὁ δ' ἐν πολλαῖς τίμιος κεκλημένος.
Hecub. 629.

ὁ πασι κλειῖδος Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.
Ced. Tyr. 8.

of the latter;

ἐν ζέην ἄχθονι δὴ κέκλημαι Δούλα.
Hecub. 484.

* τὸ μὴ δὲν, οὐδὲν ἔνθαδ' ὦν, κεκλήσθαι
Ion. 594.

Here we should render the word κέκλημαι by *I am known in character as*, and so of the rest. If therefore in these cases the words κέκλημαι, &c. answer to *sum*, &c. all idea of *fame* and *distinction* is excluded, which it is evident from the context ought not to be the case.

The remainder of the note is taken from Valckenaer, which the Professor has not thought fit to acknowledge; ascribing however with some condescension *one* part out of *four* to that learned critic. We will give Valckenaer's words; "versum 1 et 2, ad vocem ἔσω pro ἔνδον positam, excitat Grammaticus de solœcismo, p. 200; eisdem παρωδεῖ Luciani Podagra, T. III, p. 665.—In Tragedia quæ dicitur Χριστὸς πάσχων matri," &c.

V. 3. Πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν, we should conceive to be equivalent to ποντίων τερμόνων Ἀτλαντικῶν, by the well-known figure termed by grammarians ἐνδιαδῖς, h. e. ἐν διὰ δυοῖν. Virg. Georg. ii. 192. "Qualem puteris libamus et auro." Horat. Carm. iii. 29, 15. "Sine aulaeis et ostro." How Musgrave could suppose that by πόντου was meant the *Euxine* sea, we cannot comprehend; Mr. Monk says, "πόντου malè intelligit Musgravius post Scholiastam de ponto Euxino." The Scholiast's words are; τερμόνων δὲ Ἀτλαντικῶν περὶ τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος η̄κουσαν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὕρος, ὃ Ἀτλας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυτικόν· ὁ δὲ πόντος, ἀνατολικόν. Here is no mention whatever of the *Euxine* sea; why then impute the blunders of Musgrave to the Scholiast, who surely has enough to do to fight his own battles? The error lies with Musgrave; *ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro*. Ἀτλαντικὰ πελάγη· Ἐσπέριος Ὠκεανὸς, καὶ Ἐὸς, says Suidas; and from this idea arose the mistake of the Scholiast, which is much more reasonable than that of Mus-

* Thus we conceive this line, which has long puzzled the editors of Euripides, (see Barnes on the passage) should be corrected. We refer our readers to Cycl. 353. ἀλλως τομίζει, Ζεύς, ΤΟΜΗΔΕΝ ὦν, θίς. The common reading of the line in the Ion is μολύνει καὶ οὐδὲν ἰ. ὦ. κ.

grave. The passage from Demosthenes is quoted by Valckenaer.

V. 5. *προσβέειν* προτιμᾶν**, ἀρχὴν μεγαλύνειν. Hesychius. The latter exposition seems to apply in the present case, rather than the former. We should render the passage thus; "Of such, as respect my power, I promote the interest, and overthrow all those who are high-minded towards us." Of the parallel instances given by the Professor, the two last only seem to be to the purpose; the former of which is cited by Barnes. Σφάλλω, as expressive of the power of a deity, occurs in a fragment of Euripides;

- πολλὰ ἰσι μορφαῖς οἱ θεοὶ ὀφισμάτων
σφάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς, κρείσσονες πεφυκότες.

This note contains much valuable information, but principally extracted from other writers. To the instances of the "pendens nominativus," it may be worth the while to add. Orest. 581. Hom. Il. 2. 506. The error which Mr. Monk has committed in his quotation of the instance from the Œd. Tyr. we see corrected in the errata. But why not consider αἷμα as the *accusative* absolute, rather than the *nominative*? so Aristoph. Plut. 277. & Ran. 1437. Mr. Elmsley, in his edition of the Œdipus Tyrannus, printed uniform with his Acharnenses, retains the reading ὡς τὸδ' αἷ. taking care to notice Brunck's reading. On the line he thus observes; "Ὡς τήνδ' αἷμα Mudgius. Sed vulgatam optimè defendit Erfurdcius. *Ea cades de quâ dicturus sum.* Exemplis ab Erfurdio allatis, adde Soph. Œd. Col. 387. Ἐγωγε τοισίδ', ὦ πάτερ, μαντεύμασι. De quâ scripturâ suo loco dicam. χειμάζει Trin. Aug. B. χειμάζον [*lege χειμάζον*] disertè Schol." We wait in earnest expectation for the note of so learned a man on the Œd. Colon. At the same time we suspect that it will be more difficult to defend the old reading than the emendation admitted by Mudge, Heath, Brunck, and Porson. Barnes (Phœniss. 290) remarks that both that passage and this of the Hippolytus are cited by Eustath. Il. B. p. 236. On the latter he observes, "Alii quidem referunt ad *Atticismum*, alii ad *Archaismum*, ad *Solæcismum* alii:" &c. The passages from the Plut. et Greg. Corinth. are given by Brunck (Œd. Tyr. 101.)

* "ἀρχην Edit. Priuc. Male. ἀρχὴν sine dubio. Cf. Thucyd. viii. ἡμεγάλυνε τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ τῷ Τισσαφέρνη. Adeas, lector, editionem Albert. quam, cum perrara sit et impenso pretio veneat, ne vidl quidem, nedum consuluerim. Et et hæpius confusa. Vid. Pors. ad Med. 493. Obiter monendum est, Schollasten adhuc Hippol. locum leviter ex Hesychio corrigendum. οὕτως Ἀττικοί· προσβέειν· ὡς τὸ τιμᾶν. Pro τὸ τιμᾶν lege προσβέειν."

In the note on the twenty-fifth line too, after the passages cited from Plutarch, Plato, Andocides, and Ovid, it would have been as well if the Professor had added—"Hæc omnia, notante Valckenaerio." These instances are too glaring to pass unnoticed. In imitating Porson's *manner*, we ought not to forget Porson's *candour*. See his note on the Medea (1011.)

V. 27. We transcribe Mr. Monk's note; "MSS. et editiones habent κατέσχετο. Sed passivam vocem sensus postulat, et dubitare videtur Porsonius ad Orest. 1330. an unquam κατάσχω pro κατέχω usurparint Attici. Edidi igitur levi mutatione κατέσχετο. Cf. Bacch. 1134. Fragm. Dan. 27." Did Mr. Monk then suppose that the form κατέσχομην, the regular second aorist middle of κατέχω, had no existence? Must κατάσχω necessarily exist to warrant the existence of κατέσχετο? Let us turn to the Heraclida (634) φροντίς τις ἤλθ' οἰκεῖος, ἥ συνεσχόμην. Which Barnes rightly translates, *quâ angebar*. Κατεσχόμην must be considered as the second aorist middle from κατέχω; not as the imperfect from κατάσχω.

V.V. 30—33.

πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος κατόψιον
γῆς τῆσδε ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθίστατο,
ἔρωσ' ἔρωτ' ἐκδημον. Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἐπι
τολοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρῦσθαι θεᾶν.

So all the editions before Valckenaer; who, in the text of his edition, punctuates after Παλλάδος and τῆσδε, reads ἐγκαθίστατο on the authority of MSS. and personifies ἔρωτα. The question of Phædra having built a temple, having placed a statue in it, and having dedicated them to Venus on account of her disappointment in love, have been fully and elaborately discussed by Valckenaer.

The substance of his long note on the passage is taken from the learned Meursius, (Thes. § 21.) Valckenaer, it should seem, could not divest himself of the idea of a Cupid having been presented to the goddess by Phædra. His defence of this opinion is exceedingly ingenious. In the instances, however, cited in support of it, there is not one which specifies a temple as the scene of such dedication. Could the word ἔρωτα actually be personified, ἐκδηλον perhaps, the reading of more than one MS. might be substituted; though, it should appear, it is not a word much in use amongst the tragic writers. Hesychius, it is true, thus explains it; ἐκδηλος· φανερός ἢ ὑπερέχων: and words of this import are often applied to temples and their appendages; so the word ἐπιφανής in Pausanias; Ἰππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ

Θησέως τέμενός τε ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟ ἀνείται, καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. Could this reading be recoined, ἐκδημον possibly may have come into the text from the thirty-seventh line; for, it must be confessed, the circumstance of the word being repeated so soon is somewhat suspicious. The next difficulty that presents itself to us, is the word ἐγκαθείσατο, as it is written in most of the MSS. Barnes however, with the Flor. MS. has ἐγκαθίστατο, which appears to us more than a casual alteration, when we take into the account the reading of Aldus, and from him of the other editions, which is ἐγκαθίστατο; a word consisting but of one letter less. Ναοὶ too is the reading of one MS., and upon this it seems that Valckenaer founds his reading of ναῶ. Considering therefore these circumstances, and allowing that Phædra did dedicate to the goddess an image as well as a temple, the whole might possibly run thus;

πέτραι παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλ.άδος, κατόψιον
γῆς τῆσδε, ΝΑΩΙ Κύπριδος ΕΓΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΤΟ
ἐρώσ', Ερωτ' ΕΚΔΗΛΟΝ Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ
τόλοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρύσθαι θέαν.

With this reading perhaps we might admit Mr. Monk's κατείχετο, and so preserve a congruity of tenses; κατείχετο, ἐγκαθίστατο, ὠνόμαζεν. Brunck's conjecture of καθείσατο, which Mr. Monk has introduced into his text, seems not without foundation, and his reasons for adopting the reading are ingenious: though we shrewdly suspect that the phrase ἐρώσ' ἔρωτ' ἐκδημον, if meant to correspond to the Latin *ardens amore* [*Hippolyti*] *absentis*, is quaint and difficult to reconcile. Our readers will observe that we have changed the accentuation of θεαν, considering it as equivalent to θέαμα, in which sense it is often found. This affords an additional reason for thinking that ἐκδηλον and not ἐκδημον came from the pen of Euripides. Mr. Monk, properly enough, rejects Jortin's substitute for ὠνόμαζεν, as well as that of Valckenaer.

V. 37. ἀνείται συγκατατίθεται. Hesych. Mr. Monk observes, that the future of αἰνέω, in Homeric Greek, is αἰνήσω; in Attic, αἰνέσω. In the word αἰνέω, so used, there seems to be this peculiar government, which Mr. Monk has neglected to state; viz. that with the tragic poets, when any case is expressed with it, that case is invariably the accusative; so in the *Alcestis*, cited by Mr. Monk;

ὦ δῶματ' Ἀδμήτει', ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ
βῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι, θεὸς περ ὤν.

In heroic verse, the word αἰνέω is followed both by the dative and the accusative.

V. 38. Καμπεπληγμένη MS. Cott. et Flor. κακπεπληγμένη Barnes, Beck, and after them Mr. Monk. Valckenaer contends for the simple πεπληγμένη; Musgrave, and in Musgrave's words Mr. Monk, for the compound εκπεπληγμένη. The note of Valckenaer on this occasion shews at once the ingenuity, learning, and candour, of that celebrated critic.

Ἐκπλήσσω, as well as πλήσσω, is used in this sense by the tragic writers, as in the *Medea*, ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσα; in the *Helena* (1413) τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀνδρὸς χάρισιν ἐκπεπληγμένην, and in a fragment of the *Antiope* (quoted by Mr. Monk from Musgrave). Valckenaer, however, clearly demonstrates that, of the two, the simple πλήσσω is by far the most usual in this sense. One of Porson's rules, we have been told, was this; *of two readings, "ceteris paribus," prefer that which is most usual.* This Valckenaer has done exactly; not only citing instances to overpower the instances objected, but proving into the bargain from two lines in the *Christus Patiens*, the probability of their having both been parodied from the passage in question. Generally speaking ἐκπλήσσω seems to have been applied to cases of *fear* and *surprise*, rather than to the tender sensations of *love* and *affection*. We refer our readers to Eurip. Suppl. 160. Troad. 183. Auct. Rhœs. 291. Soph. Trachin. 24, 386. Philoct. 226. Aristoph. Nub. 806. Plut. 673.

V. 49. Barnes too reads τοῦ μὴ οὐ, absurdly enough. Το μὴ οὐ, the reading of the *editio princeps*, as Mr. Monk informs us, is the true reading. To the instances given of the two syllables μὴ οὐ forming one metrical syllable, we add the following; Ore t. 766. Av. 37. Acharn. 320. Ran. 68, 707.

Barnes rightly enough remarks that the same is the case with ἡ οὐ, and refers to line 596 (589 edit. Porson) of the same play, ἡ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ὁ θεὸς ἀναφέροντί μοι. Cf. S. c. Theb. 99. 208.

In line 53 τόπων is the reading of the Scholiast, Musgrave, and Valckenaer; why then obtrude this upon the public as a *new* reading?

V. 54. ὀπισθόπους· ὑποστρέψας Hesychius. Mr. Monk, without any scruple, condemns this exposition of Hesychius. Does it follow from the usage *here* being different, that ὀπισθόπους should never be equivalent to ὑποστρέψας? Stephens, in his *Thesaurus*, says under the word, "*ponegradiens. Exponitur et retrocedens.*" The former, beyond a doubt, is the meaning *here*; and we should render in Latin the words ὀπισθόπους κῶμος προσπόλων, by *turba pedissequarum*. It may be worth the while to compare Phœnis, 148. et Virg. Æn. vi. 866.

ὀπισθόπους δίκη, as Mr. Monk observes, is in all probability

cited by Suidas from some tragic writer. Tragic. apud Stobæum et Plutarchum;

ἡ δίκη,
——— σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ
στρίχουσα, μάρπτει τοὺς κακοὺς, ὅταν τύχη.

et Plutarch. p. 9. edit. Wytt. Eurip. Fragm. Antiop. Stob. p. 123. edit. Grof. et Horatianum illud *raro antecedentem*, &c. Θεάν, the emendation of Brunck, is rightly approved of by Mr. Monk.

V.V. 66, 67. In the annals of criticism scarcely do we any where recollect a more happy or more judicious emendation, than the one introduced here by Mr. Monk. It is to Mr. Gaisford, one of the best critical scholars that Oxford has produced since the days of Toup, that we are indebted for it. All the MSS. and editions down to the present day have εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν. A phrase like this, could it have stood, would have been a solecism, to have said the least of it. Mr. Gaisford reads εὐπατέρει' ἄν' αὐλάν; referring εὐπατέρεια to Diana, as an epithet often applied to that goddess. This Mr. Gaisford was induced to think, we should suppose, from the passage given by Mr. Monk (as cited by Valckenaer) from Apollonius Rhodius. Valckenaer adds; "Minerva *virgo* dicitur εὐπατέρεια *Conico* in *Schol. inedit.* in Aristid. Codice MS. Clar. Burmann. p. 132." From this we conclude that this epithet was not confined to Diana exclusively. In Iliad Z. 292, Helen is termed εὐπατέρεια· Ὀβριμπατρη on the other hand is, if we mistake not, applied by Homer to Minerva only. Mr. Monk rightly reads *ναῖεις* with the *editio princeps*, and consequently *αῖ*. For the expression Διὸς αὐλή see Blomf. Prom. Vinc. 121. To the instances given there by Mr. Blomfield, we add Aristoph. Pac. 168. Διὸς εἰς αὐλὰς.

V.V. 76, 77. μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἡρινὸν διέρχεται,
αἰδῶς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις.

Mr. Monk says, "Ξαρινὸν plerique MSS. Sed altera forma ἡρινὸν, quam exhibent Lascaris et Aldus, Atticis *usitata est*." *Usitation est*, would have been more correct, for who ever doubted the more frequent occurrence of ἡρινὸν? The Professor, we suspect, will find it a hard matter to produce a single instance of the form Ξαρινὸν in any tragic writer. But this is not all: Jortin, says the Professor, proposes ἡρινὸς, and Porson approves of the conjecture; "luce meridianâ clarius;" but the Professor is not satisfied with this; he retains the old reading ἡρινὸν, and defends it by an instance of that epithet being applied to λειμῶν in the Supplices. Did Porson or Jortin suppose that ἡρινὸς λειμῶν was not Greek? surely not; it was the harshness of the two epithets, without a

copulative, which they objected to,—*ἀκηράτον ἡρινὸν λειμῶνα*—and with good reason. Instances of this sort of neglect occur often in the chorusses of Æschylus, seldom in Sophocles, and still more so in Euripides; the letter Σ, we have been told by Porson, is frequently interchangeable in the MSS. with the Ι; and it was on the strength of this that Jortin's emendation pleased the Professor.

In the next line the word *αἰδῶς** seems long to have been a thorn in the side of critics; Porson, we are informed by Mr. Monk, for some time thought the passage incorrect. Valckenaer proposes *ἔως*, Musgrave *Ναϊάς*. Brunck is content to defend the old reading *αἰδῶς*; of whose opinion Porson afterwards recedes, referring the quaintness of the expression to the philosophy of Anaxagoras, of whom Euripides was a follower. Mr. Blomfield, however, from the passage *Ἡρίδανος ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπέυει κόρας*, suspects that *αἰδῶς* is corrupted from the name of some river, and that possibly that river may have been the *Ladon*. But the *Ladon*, we fear, (a river in Arcadia that discharges itself into the Alpheus,) approaches too near to the interior of the Peloponnesus to admit of its being near Træzen, the scene of the play. If any thing should be altered, we should propose *Χάρις*; on the authority of a passage in the *Aves* of Aristophanes, (1099. seqq.) *ἡρινά τε βοσκόμεθα παρβένια λευκότροφα μύρτα*, ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ τε ΚΗΠΙΕΤΜΑΤΑ. *Αἰδῶς τε* may have somehow, through the negligence of the copyists, found its way hither from line 387.

V. 78. Mr. Porson's alteration of *ὅστις* for *ὅσοις* is decisive; in the passages quoted in support of it, Professor Monk has given us at large "in gratiam lectoris," three from Sophocles and Euripides. We should have been grateful to him if he had given us instances not so immediately within our reach.

V. 89. Mr. Monk, we are inclined to think, has been too hasty in condemning the reading of Barnes and Beck, *οὐκ ἐννοίμεθ' ἂν*. The combination of particles *ἡ γὰρ ἂν*, is generally, if not universally, followed by a *past* tense. *Iliad* A.

ἡ γὰρ ἂν, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ὕστατα λαβήσαιο.

Beyond a doubt, in the case before us, the *past* tense *δέξαio* must be followed by another *past* tense.

V. 91. Mr. Monk's reasons for rejecting the alterations of Valckenaer and Brunck are perfectly correct; nothing can be more settled or decisive. Porson laid down the rule; Mr. Monk has availed himself of it.

V. 95. *πλείστη γε, καὶ κέρδος γε*, so Barnes, Beck, Mr. Monk, and all the editions, except those of Brunck and Valckenaer.

We can entertain no doubt whatever, as to the incorrectness of τε. In line 98, as it stands in all the editions, πῶς οὖν συ σεμνὴν δαίμον' οὐ προσεννέπεις. there seems scarcely enough to provoke a reproof so severe as what comes from the mouth of Hippolytus in the next line; τίς; εὐλαβοῦ δὲ, μή τι σὸν σφαλῆ στόμα. Laisac too, it should seem, in his observations on Euripides, felt the same objection, and proposes an emendation suggested by a learned friend. We give his words; “πῶς οὖν σὺ ΣΕΜΝΗΝ δαίμον' οὐ προσεννέπεις: corrigit Elkidius, vir (si quisquam alius), modo per valetudinem licuisset, his literis ornandis natus; πῶς οὖν σὺ ΣΕΜΝΟΣ δαίμον' οὐ προσεννέπεις; quid tu, morosus nimium et severus, I everem deam nullo cultu, nullis adis precibus? Quâ lectissimâ restitutione sententiæ multum ponderis accedere nemo diffitebitur, et optimè cum totâ fabulæ economiâ illam conspirare.” Either σεμνὴν δαίμονα or σεμνόν, the reading of Suidas, is good Greek, as Valckenauer observes. How Musgrave, and after him Mr. Monk, could suppose that by σεμνὴν δαίμονα is meant *Furius*, we are totally at a loss to conceive. It is quite preposterous to imagine that the servant could have spoken of Venus as a *Fury*, particularly since we learn from line 113 that his opinion with respect to the worship of Venus was different from that of Hippolytus. If so, at all events, the article would have been prefixed to σεμνὴν.

V. 100. For πύλαισι, says Mr. Monk, the *editio princeps* reads πύλῃσι. which however he rejects. As the introduction of this form into *Attic* Greek, seems to have for a long time perplexed the critics, not excepting even Porson himself; we will present to our readers, at one view, the opinions of Mr. Monk, Mr. Blomfield, and the late Professor; all of which seem to differ widely.

“In his terminationibus,” says Mr. Monk, “parum sibi constant libri, [ita] ut auctoritatem in talibus vix provocemus. Res quidem ad liquidum perducì non potest; vulgares autem formas in Euripide sæpè retinere malui.”

In the *Prometheus Vincetus* (363 edit. Blomf.) we have this line, as it stands in Slütz's edition;

σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλῇσι σιρίζων φόρον

We give Mr. Blomfield's note: “γαμφηλῇσι Ald. Tufn. Codd. aliqui et Eustath. ad H. E. p. 579. Sapissimè librarii formas Ionicas invenerunt, circa Homerum maximè versati, quos Brunckium toties secutum esse miror. δειναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι Rob. et Eudocia apud Villosion. Anecd. Gr. p. 406,” &c.

From these two notes of Mr. Blomfield and the Greek professor, it appears that their mode of thinking with respect to the propriety of admitting the termination *ησι* instead of *αῖσι*, in these cases, is different. Mr. Blomfield, too hastily perhaps, seems to

imply in his note a total exclusion of the form from Attic poetry. Mr. Monk, more moderately and more consistently with the practice of his predecessor, expresses his belief that the form ought not to exist in Euripides—merely. On what grounds he forms this opinion, is not given to us to say, or whether he be justified in so doing or not. *

Porson, however, thought differently from either of his pupils: let us turn to his note on line 479 of the *Medea*,

ζεύγλῃσι, καὶ σπεροῦντα κ. τ. λ.

“ Ζεύγλῃσι Ald. ζεύγλαισι membr. Lasc. Perpetua in his formis confusio. Quare * priorem, [h. e. ζεύγλῃσι] ubi dant codices vel codicum pars, accipio; contra universos codices non obtinendam opinor.”

Here the Professor decidedly gives the preference to ζεύγλῃσι, and plainly declares, that if a tolerable proportion of copies should give the termination *ῃσι*, and all the rest *αισι*, he would prefer the former. In the *Phœniss.* (59.) he does not however think the reading of *one* MS. sufficient to induce him to alter. For *πόρπαισιν* Valckenaer, Brunck, and Beck read *πόρρησιν*, from a Leyden MS.

If no other reason can be alleged as to the incorrectness of such a form, than the bare fact of its being an Ionism or a Dorism, we certainly make no scruple in agreeing with Mr. Porson. If the Attics can introduce into their dialogue the forms Ἀθάνᾱ, δαρὸς, ἑκατι, κυναγὸς, ποδαγὸς, λοχαγὸς, ξεναγὸς, ὀπαδδς, (see Porson. *Orest.* 26.) ξεῖνος, μούνος, γούνατα, κούρος, δουρί (Pors. Pref. *Hecub.*), and other instances given by Mr. Monk at line 1093 of this play; it seems reasonable to conclude, that they would not be offended with the words *πύλῃσι*, *πόρρησι*, *ζεύγλῃσι*.

V. 106. We entirely coincide with Mr. Monk's idea of *τιμαῖσιν*. The error, which Valckenaer has fallen into, is the error of a scholar,—“ si deficient vires, audacia certè Laus erit.” In line 114 Mr. Monk has judiciously retained the old reading *λέγειν*, though, as he justly observes, Reiske's alteration is specious. We should translate the line thus: *entertaining such thoughts in our minds, as is fit for slaves to express*. We almost wish however that, like Porson in the *Phœnissæ* (861), he had given us at large the conjectures of Brunck and Jacobs.

V. 117. For *εὐτόνον*, says Mr. Monk, Aldus and the *editio princeps* read *ἐντόνον*; which appears to us to be the better reading. So also Barnes, Beck, and the other editions. Only three or four MSS. have *ευτονον*; all the rest *ἐντονον*. Hence,

* Yet Mr. Blomfield in the *Prom. Vinc.* (472.) has thought fit to retain *ζεύγλαισι*, though more than one MS. have *ζεύγλῃσι*.

it appears, we have the majority of MSS. and editions in our favour. True; but we will go further. *ΕΥΤΟΝΟΣ*, if we recollect rightly, occurs but twice in Euripides: once here, and once in a fragment of the Bellerophon, preserved by Stobæus, (Tit. 112.) We give the passage as it stands in all the editions before Valckenaer,

ὦ παῖ, νέων τι δρᾶν μὲν ΕΥΤΟΝΟΙ χέρες,
γινῶμαι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσι τῶν γεραίτέρων.

O! nate, juvenum quidem manus ad agendum VALIDÆ sunt, sed consilia seniorum meliora. Valckenaer, with much boldness, alters the passage; reading,

ὦ παῖ, νέων δρᾶν ΕΥΤΟΝΩΤΕΡΑΙ χέρες,

not however on the authority of a single MS.

Thus, we see the reading of *ευτονος* for *εὐτονος*, in the passage before us, was adopted by Valckenaer before Mr. Monk; which, without any harm to himself, he might have told us. Mr. Monk founds his belief of this lection upon a line in that confused mass of right and wrong, the *Christus Patiens*, (1042.)

εἴ τις ὕφ' ἡβης σπλάγχχον ΕΥΤΟΝΩΣ φέρων

and upon Hesychius's exposition of *εὐτόνως* by *ισχυρῶς*. This is somewhat ingenious; but, it should seem, that *εὐτονος* was seldom, if ever, used in the sense of *ισχυρὸς*, except by the later writers; and to these Hesychius must have alluded. But ΕΥΤΟΝΟΝ *ισχυρόν*, *ἔξυ* says Hesychius. Add to this what Suidas says under the word; ΕΥΤΟΝΑ *ισχυρά*. Herodot. iv. § 11. καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφείων κεχωρισμένας, ΕΥΤΟΝΟΥΣ μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλῆων. With such a cloud of evidence before us, it appears that of the two *εὐτονος* ought to be excluded from the Attic writers, and not *εὐτονος*. In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (1096) we suspect that *εὐτόνως* ought to be read, not *εὐτόνως*: no mistake more frequent in the MSS. than that of *υ* for *ν*, and *vice versa*. ΕΥΤΟΝΟΣ is explained by Hesychius by *εὐμενής, γενναῖος*.

Having thus far entered into a minute examination of the several passages in the Hippolytus referred to by us, we trust that the remarks we have already made will enable our readers to form a proper estimate of the book before us. It would be, we fear, much too tedious to detail our opinions with the same minuteness upon the remainder of the work. We proceed therefore to draw our observations to a close, and to content ourselves with one or two remarks upon what may appear to be most deserving of our attention.

V. 265. This was a saying of Hippocrates too: *πᾶν τὸ πολὺ πολέμιον φύσει*. It may be worth the while to give to our

readers the much-admired Scolium of Alpheus of Mitylene, (Brunck's *Analect.*) which Mr. Monk might at least have referred to;

ὦ στέργω βαθυλήτους ἀρούρας·
οὐτ' ὄλβον πολὺ χρυσόν, οἷα Γύγης·
αὐτ' ἀρκούς ἐραμαι βίου, Μακρίνε·
τὸ ΜΙΘΕΝ γὰρ ΑΓΑΝ, ἄγαν με τέρπει.

So Horace: "Auream quisquis mediocritatem," &c. and Cicero, "mediocritatem illam tenebit, quæ est inter nimium et parum."

V. 268. Possibly Mr. Monk's conjecture of ὀρῶ μὲν for ὀρῶμεν may stand: but what is gained? of two readings, which are equally good, we should prefer the common one. Lusac's reading is plausible. In line 270, αὖ for ἀν, (which words are often interchanged) is proposed by Brunck and Reiske; and we think with propriety; particularly if we read with Mr. Monk ὀρῶμεν; then the sentence is connected thus: (1.) ὀρῶ ΜΕΝ (2.) ἄσσημα ΔΕ [ἐστίν] (3.) τοῦ Δ' ΑΥ. And so in the *Aves* of Aristophanes, (1478. seqq.)

τοῦτο ΜΕΝ γὰρ ἦρος αἰεὶ
βλαστάνει, καὶ συκοφαντεῖ·
τοῦ ΔΕ χειμῶνος πάλιν
τὰς ἀσπίδας φυλλορροεῖ.
ἔστι Δ' ΑΥ χώρα κ. τ. λ.

297. For εἰεν Brunck reads ἔα: this is specious, to say the least of it. Instances of ἔα followed by an interrogatory sentence, as τί σιγᾷς; which is caused by some sudden alarm or surprize—are very frequent. In these cases we should doubt whether εἰεν is ever found. *Hippolyt.* 989. ἔα τί χρέμα; *Hæraclid.* 73. ἔα, τίς ἡ βοή βωμοῦ πέλας ἔστηκε; *Aristoph. Thesmophor.* 1111. ἔα τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρῶ; *Av.* 1504, ἔα· τοῦτ' τί ἦν; *Plaut. Rud.* ii. 7. 20. EHO! *an te panitet?* *Terent. Andr.* i. 1. 61. EHO! *quid Pamphilus?* It is needless to say that the passage quoted by Mr. Monk from the *Hecuba*, affords no exception. We refer our readers to Brunck's note on line 607 of the *Ramæ*.

V. 480. "Quivis comparabit," &c. Is Barnes to have no credit for this?

V. 482. Mr. Monk's emendation is entitled to applause; he has restored the passage with uncommon ingenuity and accuracy. We wonder that Valckenaer, and more especially Brunck, should have been ignorant of a point so essential in verbal criticism. See Porson's note on *Med.* 863.

V. 547. See *Ovid. Epist. æn. Parid.* 117. *Horat. Carm.* ii. 3. 21.

V. 719. See *Med.* 285 (Edit. Porson.)

V. 851. "Brunckius, homo, vel se iudice, metri imperitissi-

mus," &c. Why this severe attack upon Brunck? We are sorry to find Mr. Monk "appreciating so low the merits of such a man, whom we do not fear to call the *"spēs altera."*—One of the best critical scholars of the age has not hesitated to give his opinion of that great critic in terms of the strongest admiration. Speaking of Brunck, he says,—"*cū tantum debent Græcæ literæ, quantum nāud scio an uemini, uno excepto Porsono.*" Mr. Monk ought to have recollected that Brunck had not the advantage of having Porson for his predecessor; he had his own battles to fight, and was his own pioneer. Brunck was certainly not a bad metrical scholar, though much inferior in that respect to Porson; he never had occasion to think himself deficient in that department of literature, much less to proclaim and avow it.—"*Homo, vel se iudice, metri imperitissimus!*"—is a censure as harsh as it is unmerited.

V. 977. Valckenaer, says Mr. Monk, observes that ἔρρω is of frequent occurrence, that its compounds are more rare. Mr. Monk however recollects to have seen an instance in the Herc. Fur. 259.—Was Mr. Monk then ignorant that that very line is referred to by Valckenaer in his note on the passage? See Aristoph. Nub. 785. Eccles. 169. Pax. 1291.

V. 1089. Κλάων] "*Ἀεὶ, Piersono jubente, Brunckio non nolente, semper sine diphthongo scripsi, idem facturum in αἰρὸς, κλάω and κάω.*" Pors. iv. Pref. Hecub.

Among the instances of χαίρων in the sense of *impunè*, it is surprising that Mr. Monk should have quoted the famous line from the Medea (399) without referring to Toup's celebrated note on the lines from Eupolis which ridicule that passage. See Toup on Longin. § xvi. p. 318—19.

Having now, as we apprehend, pointed out to our readers, what we may call a fair specimen of the merits and demerits of Mr. Monk's edition of the Hippolytus; we conclude with strongly recommending to the Regius Greek Professor, a system less tedious, and more original. In avoiding the brevity of Porson, he has fallen into a prolixity exceeding that of some of our German editors: he is *too fond* of foisting into his notes (as Dr. Bentley would call it) a multifarious mass of omnigenous matter; and not fond enough of declaring the sources of his borrowed criticism. The style which we should recommend, is exactly that, which has been suggested by a learned critic of the present day;—"cuni eo annotationum & variarum lectionum delectu, qui medium quodammodo locum teneret inter largum illud & prolixum interpretationis genus, quo ad Euripidis Phoenissas & Hippolytum usus est Valckenaerius, & nimiam, ut quibusdam videtur, brevitatem, quam in quatuor primis ejusdem poetæ fabulis recensendis studiose coluerat Porsonus."

ART. XII.—*The Situation of Great Britain in the Year 1811, by M. M. de Montgaillard; Author of Remarks on the Restoration of the Kingdom of Italy, by the Emperor Napoleon; of the Right of the Crown of France to the Roman Empire, &c. &c. &c.*—Faithfully translated from the French. London, 1812. Sherwood, Richardson, Ridgway. 8vo. Pp. 225.

WE think it was Dr. Johnson who observed, that if you took a Frenchman to St. Paul's Church-yard, and told him it was lawful to walk half round the church, but that he would be hanged if he walked entirely round it, he would believe you. Meaning thereby, as we presume, that the habits, manners, prejudices, and general turn of thinking of a Frenchman ran in currents so directly opposite to those, in which our laws and institutions bear along with them the happiness and prosperity of the people, that there is no common medium of mental intercourse, by which he can be made to understand or judge of the real tendency of any part of our political arrangements. If this were true before the French revolution, when the intercourse between the countries was comparatively free, and a general system of courtesy pervaded the European republic, it must be emphatically so at the present moment, when a strict separation has subsisted for near twenty years, during which an inveterate enmity to the national character of England has been diligently inculcated in France, without an attempt to found it upon any results of deliberate inquiry; and when in point of fact, the habits, the morals, the government, and the polity of the two countries have been more and more diverging from a common centre. The prejudices of education have, therefore, assisted the views of the French rulers, in estranging the minds of their people from all dispassionate contemplation of the English system.

A curiosity, however, concerning this anathematized nation of shopkeeping Islanders, seems throughout the whole of this latter period to have existed in the minds of the people, if not of the rulers of the continent, and of France. Certain rumours of engagements by sea, of victories or defeats by land, in various and distant quarters of the world, seemed to announce a display of power, that had the effect of casting a shade of doubt over the incessant official predictions concerning the immediate ruin and subjugation of England. At once to satisfy the curiosity and remove the doubt, it has been at various intervals the custom of the creatures of the French government to put forth, by means

of hired pamphleteers, exposés of the state of England and of her colonies; interspersed with a great deal of good advice to our domestic parties. During the last war we had many obligations of this sort to Mr. Talleyrand; conferred upon us, no doubt, out of gratitude for the asylum which was afforded him here, as ex-bishop of Autun, in the first periods of the revolution. M. Hauterive and several inferior hands have since taken up their pens with the same laudable view, and have afforded many a wise apophthegm to the politicians of the continent, and many a hearty laugh to those of England. Thus we recollect having read of a French gentleman, who having, during his visit to England, been squeezed into the gallery of the House of Commons, where he heard the usual call of "Places, Places," to produce order in the house when the Speaker makes his appearance, very gravely informed his nation upon his return, that the venality of which the democratic members accused the House of Commons had "*effectivement*" risen to such a pitch of grossness, that upon the appearance of the *minister* he was actually assailed with one general outcry "*pour des benefices.*"

The last few months have been signally fruitful in these efforts of French genius and patriotism. Not long ago we cast a hasty glance over a large octavo published by a Frenchman, for some time past and now resident in this country; in which absolute power is the theme of great eulogy, and the character of James the Second held up as the pattern of every kingly virtue; the English are very much derided for their folly in supposing, that they have gained any real benefit by the liberties acquired at the revolution; advised to curtail the freedom of speech, and of the press; accused of propensities, which upon accurate data he finds to be *just sixteen times* more cruel, unnatural, and dishonest, than those of the French; and finally given to understand, "*qu'ils avoient encore des larmes de sang a verser, de ce que Henri VIII. ait réussi d'annihiler a jamais la portion démocratique du gouvernement, en détruisant, ce que je répète être le principe vital et unique de la liberté, les établissemens monastiques.*"

We find however to our surprise, that this gentleman still continues to prefer an asylum in our degraded and dilapidated country, to one where his ideas might have been more completely carried into execution, and their consequences more fully exemplified; and we find also, that the alien office gives him no disturbance.

Next comes M. de Montgaillard, who kindly informs us in a very long and logical dissertation, that England must be

inevitably ruined by France in thirty years or thereabouts, unless she will consent to ruin herself at the present moment, by laying her maritime superiority at the feet of France, leaving the possession of the continent and of the world to "the Emperor Napoleon, the invincible child of victory," whose power has begun the real race of the Cæsars; that which will never end; that which will never have an Augustulus nor a Louis le Debonnaire; that which will direct the fate of the world for a long series of ages." (P. 125.) In a word, he cannot help stating for the sake of the continental nations, and if we will allow him, out of pure love and regard to the *English people* also, that it is "by peace and by the measures of a *wise and enlightened* administration, one that is alive to the *real interests* of the nation," (as they are stated by M. de Montgaillard, and corroborated by the jacobinical English pamphlets), that the British people can yet avoid the misfortunes, the revolutions, and the calamities of every kind, which threaten Great Britain with total subversion." (P. 225.) Again he observes, "in the present financial, political and commercial exposé, our only object is to remove, if possible, the *film* which obscures the sight of the people of England, and thus to prevent the sanguinary catastrophe which threatens them." Thus the exuberant benevolence and humanity of this philanthropic Frenchman extends even to the enemies of his country.

We shall not toil through the whole tissue of lying absurdities by which M. de Montgaillard arrives at his conclusions. Many of them are so gross, that no British mind could be perverted by them; they are evidently intended only for the benefit of the continental nations, and perhaps to flatter Buonaparte concerning the efficacy of a system of policy, exclusively of his own contrivance, but which he begins to perceive not quite likely to answer his impatient views for the subversion of English power and happiness. To these a French answer should be written, and if possible circulated on the continent. The nations should be told that England, so far from being the cause of their distress, affords their only remaining chance of escaping from it. But as that is not our task or office, we shall confine our observations to such parts of the argument as (rotten as they are) may yet be used as pillars to the failing sophistry of some particular parties or individuals in the state. We shall hope thus to secure the less informed of our countrymen from any possible bad effects of this Frenchman's fallacies.

To begin then, we cannot help considering the pamphlet before us as the first (*continental*) fruits of the Bullion Report; the whole argument is evidently built upon reasoning and asser-

tions to be found in that document, or in the several pamphlets written in its support; misunderstood indeed ridiculously enough in some instances, and *illustrated* (as the Frenchman would probably say) by extracts, equally misapplied, from the reports of the finance committee, and various pamphlets on the same subject. But we are well persuaded, that the principal effect, which this contemptible work may produce either at home or abroad, will be chiefly ascribable to the impression previously made upon the minds of the ignorant by the Bullion Report. A French disquisition on the state of England is perhaps the only disguise, in which the exhausted mind of the public would not now nauseate a further dissertation on the Bullion question; and the present translation may therefore be compared to those placards of the dealers in lottery tickets, which attract the unwary passenger by announcing A CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION, in large capitals; and repay his neverfailing political curiosity by a notice in small type, that Lady Branscomb has removed her lottery-office to Holborn-bars.

The following extracts will give our readers some idea of the propositions which M. de Montgaillard considers as *data* with respect to the political systems of France and England.

“Nature has decreed that the French empire should be the centre of power and protection for all the nations of the continent: this political decree is fixed and immutable. Hence it will be evident that the *momentary* transfer of the sceptre of the ocean to the hands of England has been occasioned by circumstances radically false, corrupt, and unstable; and by these alone. Such adventitious circumstances on the one part, and the maritime tyranny of Great Britain on the other, have caused all the ravages, and engendered all the plagues, under which both the sovereigns and the people have groaned, down to the present hour.

“Every impartial man, of a correct understanding, whatever may be his country, profession, or political opinion, is forced to acknowledge in the conduct and will of the government of France, the fixed and liberal intention of giving freedom to the commerce and industry of the people of Europe; of protecting their sovereignty and their maritime independence, and of ensuring to them the honourable enjoyment of those commercial rights inherent in every crown.”

This is the *faithful* picture of France and the continent. Then follows that of England and her allies.

“It is necessary to explain the naval power and the commercial riches of England, and to explode in the face of all Europe, this phantom of prosperity which has deluded every government, which oppresses every people, and which might have enchained the universe by the most scandalous and rigid laws, if, amidst all the prodigies and every kind of glory which can do honour to human na-

ture, Providence, in its eternal justice, had not indicated to all nations the avenger of their rights, and the protector of their liberties—such, in short, might have been the result, if Providence had not granted to the French empire a statesman profound in his councils, a warrior invincible in the field, the wisest administrator, and the greatest as he is the best of monarchs. Far be from us *every idea of flattery.*”

“Commerce is attended with results which are infinitely advantageous; but its spirit of enterprise is frequently injurious, because the love of gain tends to obliterate sentiments of liberality, and always ends by substituting self-interest in the place of honour; so that amongst people essentially or generally commercial, riches obtain too much consideration and influence, to the detriment of honour and good faith.”

“Thus we see why England has not, nor ever can have sincere and constant allies. She has deserted the great social family, and the rights of mankind; while deceit, ambition, and violence constitute the public law of her ministers. The mass of injustice and depredations committed by their orders is scarcely credible; and this (shall we say it,) is the inevitable effect of the prodigious and immoderate extent of the commercial power of Great Britain. This false prosperity, this policy at once capricious and violent, is daily digging for the country an abyss of calamities. The obstinate and ignorant conduct of the present administration tends still farther to accelerate the ruin of the state; for though powerful fleets may give, during a time, possession of the empire of the seas, never will they be able to obtain the empire of commerce! Markets are necessary for the sale of goods, and these markets are on the continent of Europe: the preponderating power on the continent will therefore always be, after the strictest scrutiny, the mistress of commerce.”

If commerce then is in its nature variable and uncertain, and therefore hostile to an adherence to treaties, we would ask M. de Montgaillard, is ambition less so? Let him inquire of the deposed sovereigns of Europe. Is it by reasoning like that which we have seen in the preceding extracts, that we are to be satisfied with the restoration by the emperor Napoleon of the kingdom of Italy, that we are to be convinced of the right of the crown of France to the Roman empire; and of its just and equitable claim to the thrones of Spain and Portugal*?

That such a slave as this should wear a sword
Who wears no honesty! Such smiling rogues as these,
—smooth every passion
That in the natures of their lords rebels;

* See the title to this article

Bring oil to fire, snow to their colder woods;
 Renege, affirm, and turn their halcyon beaks
 With every gale and vary of their masters, *
 As knowing nought, like dogs, but following.

But it is superfluous to exclaim against this writer's instinct for discovering where "thrift may follow sawning;" we shall therefore proceed to those particular facts and inferences, for the gracious reception of which, as tending to shew the inevitable ruin of England, the preceding extracts had prepared every *liberal* mind.

The Berlin and Milan decrees, and the cheerful submission of all the states of Europe to the continental system, that is, to an obedience to Bonaparte's decrees, at the expence of their own comforts and their people's prosperity, are the great engines by which the work is to be performed. The prosperity of England rests *solely* on its commerce, "it has not within itself a principle of strength sufficient for the developement of its naval power;"—its population is diminished;—its money gone, and its taxes proportionably increased;—its sinking fund misapplied;—its power *entirely* built on East Indian commerce and returns, Calcutta being the real capital of England;—her manufactures rivalled by the products of French industry, and her colonial exports by the products of the French soil. It is required only that the sovereigns of the continent should cure their subjects of the "the British leprosy," and that France *should gain that preponderance at sea*, which she has often had before, which nothing but a series of unfortunate *accidents* and misconduct prevents her having now, but which the invincible hero will soon acquire, and the ruin of England is sealed. "It is in this light that we may justly say, that the fate of Great Britain is at the disposal of the Emperor Napoleon." (P. 157.) To Holland, therefore, and to all the nations groaning under the privations imposed by the French decrees, he promises peace and abundance, "when the liberty of the seas shall have been regulated;" and in the mean time, with a considerable degree of *persiflage*, desires them to consider their annexation to the French empire as an important, commercial, and political privilege.

But it must of course have occurred to M. de Montgaillard, that some proof of the lamentable picture he draws of the state of England would be required by those, who saw it every day belied by her gigantic efforts in the cause of freedom and of Europe. He accordingly comes forward with his proofs and documents in form; and first, he undertakes to prove, that the prosperity and existence of England rest *solely* on her commerce, and as our author explains it, on her commercial inter-

course with the European markets, by considering, that the interest of the national debt and the expence of the naval and military establishment, are paid by the proceeds of the sales of East and West Indian produce, to the continental states: "The sums thus required must therefore evidently be insufficient, if the war be prolonged, and the ports of the continent be strictly shut against British merchandize." (P. 28.) This is the burthen of the pamphlet, and is repeated at least an hundred times in its two hundred pages, and exemplified by as many analogies. We are compared by turns with Tyre, Palmyra, Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and other commercial states of contracted territory. The author knows not (how should he?) that more than two-thirds of the British revenue are levied upon, and an equal proportion of the manufactures purchased by, the domestic population and internal resources of the kingdom. He knows not, that the capital raised by our commerce is every day realized in the cultivation of unbroken soil, and the improvement of old inclosures; and that we have means as yet unexplored to double or treble our produce and population. And, although, in point of fact, the storehouses have been glutted by colonial produce, both because we possess all the colonies in the world, and because many of their accustomed vents on the continent are closed; yet M. de Montgaillard may learn from the official returns of the revenue for the last year, during which his favourite continental system has been in full operation, that whatever individual distress this state of affairs may for a time produce, the effect upon the public revenue is, if not trifling, at least by no means such as seriously to distress and impede the operations of government, and the general prosperity of the country. In fact, the defalcation in the average produce of the revenue has scarcely amounted to any sum worth mentioning in a total of upwards of sixty millions; for, although the receipts of the present year have fallen short of those of the last, by nearly three millions, yet one million and a half must be ascribed to an extraordinary collection of arrears in 1810, and the remainder to an excess of trade in the same year above the average amount of former years. The receipts of 1811 were nearly as great as those of 1809, and exceeded those of 1808; and in every one of those years there has been a *considerable surplus* of the ordinary revenue applicable to the extraordinary expences of the war; so that there is not, on the whole, the smallest ground for distrusting the competence of the united kingdom, not merely to continue the struggle, but even to increase its exertions in proportion to any exigency that may arise.

But it is impossible not to perceive, that the wants of men

and the venality of douaniers will find out new channels of supply, in proportion as the scarcity of colonial produce on the continent enhances its price; and we should not be surprised to find the revenue of 1812 exceeding that of 1811, as much as that of 1810 exceeded that of 1809. Such a fluctuation, under the present circumstances of the continent, is naturally to be expected, notwithstanding all M. de Montguillard's asseverations, that not a bale of English goods shall reach the continent; and all his exhortations to the European sovereigns to ruin themselves and their people, in order to forward the destruction of their best friend.

We are next informed, that the population and agriculture, as well as the commerce and manufactures of England, are on the decline, and therefore, that the continuance of the payment of domestic taxes to the same amount will soon become impossible; much less can the necessary increase be provided for. To this it is enough to answer, that the population has *substantially* increased, at least a million of souls in the last ten years; and that more than one hundred acts of parliament for the enclosure of waste lands are passed in every session. And as to the pressure of taxes, every tyro in political economy knows, that a tax paid to the English government is immediately paid away again to the people, for goods manufactured, or for the remuneration of labour employed in the public service. The effect is, therefore, that property changes hands; but so far from being annulated, it is, when justly and honestly applied, only thrown into quicker circulation, being paid to the most active and enterprising artizans. And, as in every step of its progress it is employed about objects which pay a revenue to government, the consequence to the state is beneficial, however it may excite the complaints of those whose enjoyments are curtailed by the original subtraction from their incomes. But we do not believe that those complaints will ever be very loud or serious, so long as the obvious alternative of *noncompliance* with the reasonable wants of government is *subjugation to France*; provided always that every due precaution is taken to prevent the public money from being squandered and embezzled; a precaution which every wise minister for his own sake will be most eager to secure. With respect to the inability of the country to discharge the weight of taxes, we would just remind our readers, that this is no new alarm. The conviction was so prevalent in 1801, that Mr. Pitt actually despaired of raising any large sum within the year as war taxes, and had again recourse to the system of loans. Yet so far was the ability of the country to bear additional taxes, when convinced of their necessity, materially diminished, that we all re-

collect, that in the first year of the peace which followed, an addition of five millions, and in the first year of the present war an addition of twelve millions and a half, were cheerfully paid by the people; making a total addition of nearly double the interest of the national debt as it stood in the year 1793.

Now, we would ask a man of observation, if there is any thing in the habits, enjoyments, and general condition of the people at the present moment, which makes them less able to increase their exertions in a cause in which their hearts and affections are engaged, than they were in 1802 or 1804.

But it is said, the enormous and increasing load of public debt must at length overwhelm us, considering the temporary accidents to which all nations may be exposed, to interrupt for a time their national prosperity, and produce occasional defalcations from their revenue. The sinking fund, of course, offers an answer to this objection;—of this M. de Montgaillard appears to be aware: and his reasoning on this subject constitutes so delectable a specimen of the absurdities of a Frenchman, when he bewilders himself in the details of English polity and finance, that we cannot withhold the passage from our readers.

“ Nevertheless, some wise and enlightened ministers, in the early part of the reign of George I., jealous of the honour of their country, formed the project of the *sinking-fund*, intended to effect the extinction of the national debt. This is an excellent institution of finance, perfectly proper to inspire confidence, and capable of guaranteeing the credit of a nation. But this institution, like the best of laws, is not protected against abuses which may be exerted by force and corruption, when it is at the mercy of the *venality* or the *ambition of ministers*. By a clause of the act on which it is founded, the residue of the taxes appropriated to the *sinking-fund* is left at the disposal of parliament. This clause has been sufficient to cause the suspension of all reimbursement or liquidation in time of war, under the pretext of enabling the government to meet the public service of the year. Ambitious or knavish ministers may dispose, at pleasure, of the sums appropriated to the discharge of the national debt: they need only, in order to succeed in their manœuvres, to ensure a slight majority in the parliament. New loans may be proposed, and they will not be filled up, except at an increase of interest; but the loans supply ministers with new means of internal corruption.”

To this galimatias we shall briefly and plainly reply, that in all our difficulties and dangers the sinking fund has been kept sacred; that it does at this time pay off more than a million every month of the national debt; and that even upon the present scale of our expenditure, it would probably ere long (with the aid of the war taxes and the surplus of the consolidated

fund) enable us to maintain the contest with France without any actual augmentation of public debt. It is evident that this will be the case when the sum redeemed by the commissioners for managing the sinking fund is equal to that of the loan for the service of the year.

With respect to our dependence upon the East Indies for our existence, and to the exaltation of Calcutta into the metropolis of England, it must be observed, that M. de Montgaillard qualifies the assertion, by admitting on the other hand, "that in reality Plymouth is the *citadel of Calcutta*. It is therefore only necessary for Great Britain to receive an unexpected defeat on her own shores, to enable the imperial fleets to convey to the Mahrattas and the nabobs of the peninsula the news of their liberty, and the advantages of independence." (P. 91.)

We shall think it time enough to surrender to this reasoning when our existence and dependence are tottering, our metropolis and citadel in jeopardy, and the fleet and army of France are triumphantly proceeding to confirm M. de Montgaillard's predictions.

We shall begin to be seriously alarmed when we find that they are actually on their way to throw fire and discord among the nabobs and the Mahrattas; of which events we confess that we do not at present perceive any immediate prospect. Such speculations may gratify his emperor, may amuse the badauds of Paris, and may perhaps be cheered by the half-smothered acclamations of an abject people; but we do not think they will have the least effect upon any enlightened foreigner, much less give one moment's alarm to the well-informed people of England. We have no doubt, however, that we shall all agree with this ingenious gentleman, that, as France is neither oppressed with the *fleeting possessions* of colonies, commerce, a sinking fund, East Indian returns, or the capital of Calcutta; it remains that Paris is her metropolis, and "that in *this sense* the *facts will shew* that the French empire is the richest, and Great Britain the poorest, government in Europe." (P. 40.)

But as M. de Montgaillard well observes, what signify the teas and the muslins of the Eastern, the sugar and coffee of the Western Indies, when the products of the French soil, and industry, shall rival them in the foreign markets. When the grass of Paraguay, transplanted into France, shall be chopped into their teapots, and the juice of the grape, instead of being fermented into an intoxicating liquor, shall, with due sobriety, be evaporated and crystallized into a saccharine competitor with the produce of Jamaica; to say nothing of the French looms and beans which are to be respectively instrumental in the pro-

ductions of muslin and coffee. To this formidable array of French rivalry we really know not what resource to oppose. We fear that M. de Montgaillard has at length driven us to the wall. We must, indeed, fall at the feet of Buonaparte, conclude a maritime peace, and permit "the liberty of the seas to be regulated;" and if it seems good to M. de Montgaillard and his emperor, it shall be upon these terms.—That we shall gradually withdraw from our eastern and western possessions, and give up our marine, in proportion as their products shall be replaced by those of the same description and quality raised on the soil of France, manufactured by French industry, and imported in French ships. In the mean time, it is proposed, that we shall continue in the full and undisturbed possession of our ships and colonies and commerce, and that France shall not, of course, adopt a plan so *ruinous to herself* as to employ her ships and capital in cultivating, and importing from the East and West Indies, articles of commerce, for the production of which the capacities of her own soil and people are so much better adapted. Nothing can surely be more in unison with the views and objects of France, as set forth in this Exposé of her hired agent.

Having thus yielded up the palm of victory to M. de Montgaillard, we shall now withdraw from the contest, little doubting that our readers are by this time fully competent to judge of his soundness as a politician, and his prowess as a controversialist; and, we trust, that they will scarcely expect us to unravel the intricate skein which his ingenuity has woven out of the arguments of the bullion report, and its advocates. If in the hands of their original framers they were sufficiently unintelligible as to any practical or useful application; we are not ashamed to confess, that, passed through the alembic of a Frenchman's brain, they are infinitely surpassing our slender intellect. All that we can clearly perceive is, that he thinks them very conclusive himself, as to the immediate ruin of England, and seems to have no doubt that the same impression will be made upon others.

In aid of these convictions the procedure of Lord King, and its necessary consequence, the bill of Lord Stanhope, furnish him with a most triumphant postscript. We recommend the following extract to the notice of the first of those noble lords, and of the other advocates of the bullion committee; gently insinuating, that as a very large majority of the legislature and of the nation has decided their measures and arguments to be perfectly unwarrantable, *de facto* at least, if not *de jure*, in the present state of affairs,—we trust that on future occasions they

will be cautious of maintaining theoretic speculations, by means which may eventually afford to the enemies of their country extensive means of injuring its interests among its friends.

"When we sketched the picture which has just been perused, we were far from supposing that the ministers would themselves expose to the whole universe the mortality of the wounds of Great Britain. This will, indeed, be an astonishing epocha in the history of nations, as such an one ought to be, wherein we see a country that pretends to command the empire of trade, in all parts of the civilized world, suddenly obliged to expose its commercial misery, and to adopt the fatal resource of paper money, because a single landholder, Lord King, wishes to put in force the rights which a legitimate contract gives him over his tenants.

"England, how deplorable is thy situation!—This extension of trade, this increase of industry, which caused a political power to rise from the midst of its navy, which have rendered a little island the rival of the greatest empires, themselves become the causes of its decline and ruin! A few months which have passed since the execution of the decrees of Berlin and Milan have been sufficient to shake, even to its foundations, that grand and majestic edifice, which philosophy, legislation, and commerce, had given to Great Britain. It is all over with the splendour of that kingdom; its greatness is extinct!"

At length this serious opera, this "sottise magnifique," ends with all due solemnity: "Le Lord King a mis le feu au temple d'Ephese, et les ministres consomment sa destruction."

ART. XIII. *The Life of the Right Reverend John Hough, D. D. successively Bishop of Oxford, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester: formerly President of Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, in the Reign of King James II. containing many of his Letters, and Biographical Notices of several Persons with whom he was connected.* By John Wilmot, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. London, 1812. White and Cochrane, Longman and Co.

THE perusal of the work before us has given us pleasure and instruction. Bishop Hough is one of those characters which must always excite interest, and can surely give offence to none but those who hate virtue because it is virtue. The qualities with which he was most eminently gifted were of the mild and unobtrusive kind; yet in one event of his life, when the circumstances in which he was placed made political firmness a moral duty, he displayed an intrepid moderation, which neither the

best nor greatest need blush to own. We allude to the well known and memorable incident of his contention with the crown in 1687, as president of Magdalen College, when he boldly withstood the attempts of a bigotted prince to force upon his college a Roman Catholic president. The account of the whole proceeding is curious; but as our limits will not allow us to give it in detail to our readers, we shall only produce an extract or two, referring them to the book itself for the remainder. We need scarcely remind our readers, that the college petitioned against the appointment of Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, as their president, on account of his being a papist.

"This petition the king repeatedly refused to accept, and they were threatened by him, in a very gross manner, with the whole weight of his displeasure, if they did not admit the Bishop of Oxford, which they intimated was not in their power. The king said, among other things, 'Ye have been a turbulent college. I have known ye to be so these twenty-six years. You have affronted me in this; get you gone; know I am your king, I will be obeyed; and I command you to be gone: go and admit the Bishop of Oxford principal, what do you call it, of the college (one who stood by said, President), I mean president of the college. Let them that refuse it look to it; they shall feel the weight of their sovereign's displeasure.' This he repeated, and added, 'Get you gone home, I say again, and immediately repair to your chapel, and elect the Bishop of Oxford, or else you must expect to feel the weight of my hand.' The fellows went immediately to their chapel, and being asked by the senior fellow whether they would elect the Bishop of Oxford their president, they all answered in their turn, that it being contrary to their statutes, and to the positive oath which they had taken, they did not apprehend it was in their power. It appears from Anthony Wood's account of this visit, that W. Penn, who attended the king to Oxford, went afterwards to Magdalen College; and although he at first hoped to persuade the fellows to comply with the king's wishes, yet when he heard the statement of their case, he was satisfied that they could not comply without a breach of their oaths."

Shortly after the fellows of Magdalen received a citation to appear at Magdalen College, before certain lords commissioners appointed specially to visit the college. These were Cartwright, bishop of Chester, Sir R. Wright, chief justice of the King's Bench, and Sir T. Jenner, baron of the exchequer. We shall give part of the conversation which passed at their visit, as being replete with characteristic features of the king and his government.

"Bishop to Dr. Hough. What is the reason you act as president, since the election was declared void and null by the lords commis-

sioners sitting at Whitehall, in June last, and the fellows stand out in contempt of the king's mandate?—Dr. Hough. My lord, both myself and the fellows have taken oaths so strong and binding, that we cannot depart from them, without offering the greatest violence to our consciences. It was according to the statutes of the college that they made choice of a president, and therefore they were not capable of proceeding otherwise; and as to myself, I have been condemned at Whitehall, and turned out of my property without giving me a hearing, or so much as a citation to appear.

“Bishop. But how say you, doctor; do you now submit to our visitation?”

“Dr. Hough answered in his own name and that of the greater part of the fellows, ‘That they submitted to it as far as was consistent with the laws of the land and the statutes of the college, and no further.’”

“The statutes being sent for and read, and found to be very strict and close to the purpose, the bishop said, ‘Dr. Hough, do you imagine that a private statute can contradict our commission, and that it is not in our power to alter any of your statutes?’”

“Dr. Hough. My lord, thus far I acknowledge your power reaches: you may alter statutes in respect of persons who come after, which, when altered or made, are proposed to them before they swear to the observance of them; but not in respect of us, who have sworn to keep them as they are already made, without the least addition or diminution; for sure I am, that no power under Heaven can free me from the obligation I have taken.

“The bishop said, that the king had dispensed with the statutes, and asked the president if he thought they came there to act against law?”

“Dr. Hough. My lord, it would not become me to say so; but I will be plain with your lordships. I find that your commission gives you authority to change and alter the statutes, and make new ones as you think fit. Now, my lords, we have taken an oath not only to observe these statutes (laying his hand upon the book), but to admit of no new ones or alterations in them. This must be the rule of my behaviour; I must admit of no alteration from them, and, by the grace of God, I never will. Being asked why he did not read mass then, as there was a statute for mass: Dr. Hough replied, ‘My lord, the matter of this statute is unlawful: besides the statute is taken away by the law of the land. Besides, my lord, that statute having been abolished by the law of the land, it could never have affected me; for as long as the saying mass is *malum in se*, and in my conscience I know the matter of it to be unlawful, that obligation ceases, and I am in no sort of duty bound by it.’”

“Chief Justice. In the king's mandamus is implied an inhibition with respect to all others, and a dispensation of private statutes.

“Dr. Hough. That is past my understanding, my lord; nor since the foundation of the college has there been an instance of that nature.

"Bishop. Will you deliver up the keys to the use of that person whom the king has appointed president, as the statutes require?"

"Dr. Hough. As the statutes require, my lord?"

"Bishop. Yes, as the statutes require."

"Dr. Hough. My lord, I will immediately do it, if that appear."

"Bishop. Turn then to the statutes, where he promises to submit quietly, if he shall be expelled, either for his own fault, or other cause."

"Dr. Hough. My lord, this statute doth not concern me, if I be not expelled for any cause committed by me."

"Bishop. Vel ob aliam causam?"

"Dr. Hough. Then to speak the truth, my lord, here is no cause at all."

"The keys of the college were then demanded."

"Dr. Hough. We never deliver up the keys even to the Bishop of Winchester, and we own no greater visitatorial power. He has the king's authority: 'tis by virtue of a royal charter that we live together, and enjoy the benefits of this place: this empowered the founder to give us a rule, and obliges us by oath to live suitably to it. But your lordship knows it has been controverted whether the king can visit a private college or not. But, my lord, I humbly beg of your lordship that I may have leave to ask one question. Your lordship is pleased to demand of me to give up my keys and lodgings; does your lordship own my right? For if not, what is it your lordship would have me give up?"

"Bishop. No; we look upon you as an intruder."

"Dr. Hough. If I am an intruder, the Bishop of Winton has made me one, and I thank God for it. My lord, the time we have been allowed to prepare ourselves for this appearance has been very short,—but one day between that and the citation. We are men ignorant in the laws, myself in particular. I have endeavoured to give your lordship a plain and satisfactory reply to such questions as you have been pleased to put to me. It is very probable that through ignorance and inadvertency I may have exposed myself unwarily; if so, I beseech your lordship, let no advantages be taken of it. My intention has been all along to express myself with all imaginable duty to his majesty, and respect to your lordships. If I have done otherwise, I beseech your lordships' candour, and a favourable interpretation of what I have said, that nothing may be taken amiss where all was dutifully intended. And now, my lords, I have thus far appeared before you as judges. I now address you as men of honour in the last degree, as I always have been and always will be, as far as conscience permits me, to the last moment of my life. And if I am dispossessed here, I hope your lordships will intercede that I may no longer lie under his majesty's displeasure, or be frowned upon by my prince, which is the greatest affliction that can befall me in this world."

"Upon this the president was ordered to withdraw, and after a little time he and the fellows were called in again. Then the bishop repeated the question."

"Bishop. Dr. Hough, will you deliver up the keys and give possession of the lodgings to the person the king has appointed president?"

"This being repeated a second and third time, and Dr. Hough having answered, that he had neither heard nor seen any reasons to induce him to it, the king's proctor stood up and accused him of contumacy; when the bishop admonished him in these words, three times: 'Dr. Hough, I admonish you to depart peaceably out of the lodgings, and to act no longer as president, or pretended president, of this college.' This being done, the commissioners struck his name out of the books of the college, and admonished the fellows, and others of the society, no longer to submit to his authority. Having adjourned till the afternoon, the president came again into the court, and having desired to speak a few words, they all took off their hats, and gave him leave; whereupon he said, 'My lords, you were pleased this morning to deprive me of my place of president of this college: I do hereby protest against all your proceedings, and against all that you have done, or hereafter shall do, in prejudice of me and my right, as illegal, unjust, and null; and therefore I appeal to my sovereign lord the king, in his courts of justice.'"

By this firm and manly conduct of Dr. Hough and his colleagues, the king and his friend and coadjutor William Penn (whose activity in the cause reads a sort of lesson to our contemporaries, which we shall presently recall to their minds), were defeated in their attempt to force a Roman Catholic president upon the college, and at length quitted Oxford *re infecta*.

We cannot but be struck with this choice by James II. of William Penn the quaker, as an instrument to forward his designs against the established church in favour of popery. Who can help comparing it with the partnership entered into at a late catholic meeting in Ireland, between its members and a modern quaker of celebrity? "The fact proves, that it is not a new thing for popery and quakerism, however discordant in their principles, to become friends in a confederacy against the established church.

The scene of which we have just read an account is the more creditable to Dr. Hough, as the whole tenor of his subsequent life exhibited a continued proof, that his firm stand against arbitrary power in no wise originated in a turbulent spirit, or factious motives. The happy times which succeeded the revolution were little fruitful in acts calculated to call forth conscientious resistance to ecclesiastical oppression, and the good bishop consequently confined himself to the quiet discharge of his pastoral duties, and to a charitable and paternal interest in the welfare of his friends. In 1690 he became bishop of Oxford, and successively filled the sees of Lichfield and Coventry,

and of Worcester, where he remained 26 years, having lived to the advanced age of 92. He retained complete possession of his faculties to the last, and what was still more valuable, seems to have been free from that peevishness and querulousness of temper which are among the moral infirmities of age. In short, he appears to have possessed the happy art of growing old with a good grace. The source from which this serenity flowed will appear from the perusal of his letters and other writings, which we recommend to the attention of our readers, who are yet to acquire a taste for the beauty of regulated affections, gentle habits, and polished humanity.

The following specimens are given by Mr. Wilmot of the bishop's pleasantries, good humour, and benevolence.

"A young clergyman, curate of a neighbouring parish, taking his leave of him one day, and making many awkward bows, ran against, and threw down on the floor, a favourite barometer of the bishop's: the young man was frightened and extremely concerned; but the good old prelate, with all the complacency possible, said to him, 'Don't be uneasy, sir; I have observed this glass almost daily for upwards of seventy years, but I never saw it so low before.'"

The other is as follows: He always kept 1000*l.* in the house for unexpected occurrences, perhaps to pay funeral expenses or legacies. One day the collectors of one of the noble societies in this country came to him to apply for his contribution: the bishop told his steward to give them 500*l.* The steward made signs to his master, intimating, that he did not know where to get so large a sum. He replied, "You are right, Harrison; I have not given enough: give the gentleman 1000*l.*—you will find it in such a place:" with which the old steward, though unwillingly, was forced to comply.

The Bishop of Worcester's chief correspondent was Lady Kaye, widow of Sir Arthur Kaye, of Woodsome, in Yorkshire, and great grandmother to the late Earl of Dartmouth. She was daughter to Lady Marow, whose funeral sermon the bishop preached in St. James's church in 1714. This lady appears to have been a most exemplary person, and as far as a judgment can be formed by the evidence given by Mr. Wilmot, to her may be ascribed the singular glory of having literally earned the fame bestowed upon her in a long and laudatory epitaph*.

The bishop also corresponded with another daughter of Lady Marow's, Mrs. Knightly. In one of his earliest letters to her,

* Lady Marow's epitaph is to be found in St. James's church, and is transcribed in the work before us, p. 80.

is a short passage upon the advantages of epistolary intercourse with friends, which pleased us much from its new and original turn.

"Good sense in manuscript is what we may dwell upon with pleasure: we can oblige the author to repeat, over and over again, those thoughts and expressions we are so much taken with, and every time find out new beauties in them, with this great advantage, that modesty is not provoked on one side, nor does satiety rise on the other. For this reason, I have often thought it no small happiness to have friends at a distance, who are so good as to think of us, and so kind as to let us know it; and I really believe it would prove to our loss, if we could see each other so often as we desire it."

• We have no doubt but *one half* at least of our readers will approve highly of the bishop's ideas of domestic management contained in the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Knightly.

"I congratulate Lady Delves on her good fortune, and I think I may say Sir Thomas too, for I hear he is much pleased, and that the lady carries herself with a decent complaisance, which cannot chuse but be engaging, to one who was not used to it in his former wife's time. She governed, so ought this to do; but her good sense will prevent her from letting the world, or even himself, discern it: it is the true art of maintaining a comfortable correspondence in a family; and it was the saying of the Archbishop Dolben, that every good husband willingly gave up the government to his wife, but every prudent wife kept the secret to herself."

A short letter from the bishop to Mrs. Knightly, after the death of her son, aged 20, is so well deserving of attention, that we shall insert it.

"Madam,

May 1st, 1732.

"Your last letter makes me sensible that prudence and good understanding are superior to the greatest trials, and that an even temper, which calmly bears, and does not impatiently struggle under adversity, overcomes it; slowly, indeed, and by leisurely degrees, but this makes the conquest more effectual. The reason is obvious, for then a man's conduct is such as the almighty Governor of the world expects it to be, who would have the sufferer know, that he is under his hand, and ought humbly, nay, thankfully to submit, but does not forbid him the use of all proper endeavours to lighten the weight; so far from such severity, that he sends the blessed Spirit to influence and assist him, whereby he is enabled to consider of his present state with true judgment, to make useful reflections upon it, and proceed to resolutions, which he may promise himself he shall soon have power to accomplish. This is that strength of mind, which philosophy vainly boasts she has at her disposal, but never could bestow it upon any of her votaries; for human nature has it not. The great Author of nature reserves it in his own hand, a gift only to those who seek it worthily, and none but the

sincere Christian can obtain it. I am confident, Madam, you have felt this by experience, and found that when a course of reasoning has made but little progress towards it, an humble prayer has brought it down from above. Let this, therefore, be your chief resort, your constant refuge, and be assured it will never fail you.

"Mr. Palmer of Ladbroke is now at Hattlesbury, and tells me it is not long since he saw you in very good health, which is a blessing I pray God you may long enjoy, not only for your own sake, but for the sake of one who, well disposed as he is, will daily improve by your example and instruction; on whom duty and a tender regard for all you do and say will make a deeper impression than the most solemn lectures and discourses from an indifferent person. As I take myself to have more than a common interest in him, I cannot but express an equal concern, that he may in all respects make such a figure as you may look upon with comfort and pleasure.

"I am,

"Madam, &c."

We shall conclude our extracts by presenting to our readers part of a charge delivered by the bishop to his clergy, when in the eighty-first year of his age. He is treating of the obstacles which exist in the human mind to the reception of the truth.

"They are many, but I will instance only in three: 1st, self-conceit; 2dly, prejudice; and 3dly, prepossession. The first in the opinion of the wise man, was invincible. He no where vouchsafes his advice to it, concluding it would be thrown away, and gives a very good reason; for 'seest thou,' says he, 'a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him.' Accordingly wherever such a one comes in his way, his severest reproofs are sure to fall heavy, but not in a manner as if he expected amendment. A fool may, by proper treatment, in some degree become tractable: he is not absolutely incapable of being influenced by hopes and fears; as far as his small knowledge and apprehension goes, he will obey those on whom he depends: but the self-conceited man is entirely unmanageable, full of sufficiency, and not to be wrought upon. If you disapprove his conduct, he smiles, and pities your judgment. He is very sure he is not in the wrong, and therefore is incapable of being set right. He is, in short, impenetrable to good advice; and yet from such a temper as this we must not turn aside. The husbandman must scatter his seed on rocks, on stony ground, and even in the highways: it may be trodden under foot, or not take root; but he has not been sparing either of that or his pains; and if the product does not answer, the fault is not his. What Solomon thought impossible, is extremely feasible to one who is greater and wiser than he; who can, when he pleases, even by means of our endeavours (poor as they may be) make the opinionated sinner ashamed of his follies, and, which is more sick, of himself.

"The second ill quality which I mentioned to stand often in our way is prejudice, sometimes against the doctrine, sometimes against the preacher, and in either case we shall not easily remove it. For

if your reprehension be turned upon a favourite vice, or you set up a virtue that interferes with it, he must be a man of more than ordinary candour who will hear with patience and impartiality. All who are not thoroughpaced and hardened sinners find out ways to reconcile their principles to their practice, till they come to be easy in their own minds, and to look upon those things as very tolerable wherein they indulge themselves. Let these alone, and you shall say what you please, without contradiction; but such and such doctrines are not to be digested; they bear too hard, and do not make, as they think, reasonable allowances; and if you will not forbear to insist upon them, you provoke their spleen. 'Is there not,' says Jehosaphat, 'a prophet of the Lord, besides these that stand before us, of whom we may enquire?' 'Yes,' says Ahab, 'but I hate him.' 'Why so?' 'Because he does not prophecy good concerning me.' A covetous man is as ready as any body to applaud the preacher upon the subject of frugality, if he will but leave his hearers to adjust the measures of it. But if he takes upon him to define the virtue, and expose the sordid vice it may degenerate into, he thwarts the man's inclination, and loses his esteem. On the other hand, a luxurious man is so far from being shocked, when you tell of the blessings that attend a liberal hand, that he fancies himself well entitled to them. He does not with the miser keep all to himself, but calls his neighbours and friends to share in his plenty. But when you come to shew in what degree and in what manner hospitality must be exercised to make it commendable; when you talk of limits and restrictions, of proper objects and justifiable ends, you spoil all, and his complacency forsakes him.

"Thus it is obvious we might make ourselves acceptable enough, by 'prophesying only smooth things;' but the direct contrary is our duty, and will be, till the world comes into a better state. Sometimes the instruction is ill entertained, because not delivered gracefully and with a becoming air. The preacher's figure, or his mien, or his elocution does not please, and then the substance of what he says shall be little regarded. A foolish prejudice, and justly to be despised; but yet we find the great St. Paul laboured under it. The Corinthians could not but confess that his letters were weighty and powerful: the strength of reason and the truth of his doctrine were undeniable; but his bodily presence, it seems, was weak in their eyes, and the manner of expressing himself not tuneable to their ears. He did not appear great and awful, like one who ought to be revered; he spoke very good sense, that they allowed him, but he set it off poorly; and these trifling considerations, added to their vicious dispositions, made them bold to demur to his authority.

"The third, and of all others the most obstinate enemy we have to encounter is prepossession; for it sticks at nothing. Where education and interest have settled falsehood, neither shame nor remorse can touch it. How imperiously and how impudently does it maintain the ground! Dressed out in the most specious colours that can be invented, she insults the plainness and simplicity of

truth, yet (fearing her innate strength, and knowing she will at last prevail) she calls in the succours of a furious zeal, a zeal that admits of all arts, and refuses no means conducing to its end; a zeal that makes use of the most barbarous cruelty, under pretence of good nature, and breaks faith with men for the glory of God. An honest, well-meaning stranger may be apt to say, this is a heavy charge, can it possibly be made out? We will allow a stranger in christendom to doubt; for human nature cannot think it easily credible. But you, my brethren, who are exercised in the defence of truth, are able to convince him; you who are not ignorant with what weapons she is attacked, and how treacherously she is assaulted. Many of you have had experience, and are able to testify, that 'if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they' (the great and most insolent assertors of falsehood) 'had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.' "

There is a curious and interesting fac simile of a letter, written by this amiable prelate a few months before his death, when in his ninety-second year. Its style is excellent, and we cannot help wishing that the hand-writing of our beaux and belles were as legible as that of the good bishop at his advanced age: for this letter we must refer our readers to the book.

We have thus given a short account of this pleasing work. It exhibits a specimen of that combination of public spirit with private urbanity, of vigour in the great with suavity in the little concerns of life, which softens admiration into affection, and mellows the hero into the friend and companion. The general execution of the book by Mr. Wilmot is such as we might naturally expect from the literary leisure of a gentleman and a scholar.

ART. XV. *A Refutation of Calvinism; in which, the Doctrines of Original Sin, Grace, Regeneration, Justification, and Universal Redemption are explained, and the peculiar Tenets maintained by Calvin upon those Points are proved to be contrary to Scripture, to the Writings of the ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, and to the Public Formularies of the Church of England.* By George Tomline, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of St. Paul's. London, 1811. Cadell and Davies.

WHEN England and Scotland were as yet separate kingdoms, a narrow tract on the boundary of the two realms, denominated the debatable land, was the scene of the most bitter hostility, the object of the most vehement contention. Though this unfortunate stripe of territory along the Sark and the Tweed had been so frequently ravaged and *peeled* by alternate inroads from the north and from the south, that the fee-simple of the soil was scarcely worth the expence of a single predatory excursion, it was there that the rival nations were constantly wasting the courage, and lavishing the blood, by which the power of France might have been broken. Even when treaties had suspended public war, well might the litigated confines deplore their lot,

as

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell.

Harrison frowned upon garrison, camp lowered against camp on the border. Insult and invasion, fire and sword, still characterized this region of discord and devastation.

It is with religious associations as it is with empires. The jarring parties in matters of faith are often observed to be exercising their strength, expending their zeal, and we fear it may be added, indulging their resentment, not mainly, nor with the firmest pertinacity in exertions against their common enemies, nor in efforts to fortify themselves in those positions which the combatants ought respectively to consider as the most essential to the interests of piety and holiness; but in contests about some debatable corner, which, though not without its value, cannot reasonably be deemed of higher than secondary importance. In the days of Elizabeth, and of her immediate successors, it was the cross in baptism, or the surplice, or the episcopal vesture, or the station of the communion table, which called forth into action the energies of religious party. At present the debatable corner is Calvinism. If we attend to a charge delivered at a visitation, it is against tenets regarded as calvinistic, that we expect the maximum of vigour to be dis-

played. On other topics advice is gently intimated, on Calvinism the thunders roll. If we open a visitation sermon, it is the tremendous poison of Calvinism which rouses the voice of alarm and abhorrence. It is on the luckless Calvinist, real or supposed, that the young theologian fleshes his maiden steel. It is for his gallantry against this selected adversary, that he exults by anticipation in the dreams of self complacency, and receives almost before he has struck a blow, the gratulatory acclamations of his brethren.

Let us not be misunderstood. We know that it is at all times the indispensable duty of Christians, earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints; (Jude 3.) to maintain publicly and privately the truth as it is in Jesus, (Ephes. 4. 21.) not only in its general form, but in every one of its discriminating features. We are not of the opinion of those who pronounce that minor errors in religion are of trifling consequence, provided that the great fundamentals are preserved. We judge, that error in doctrine is naturally followed by serious effects in practice, and that error of every description, to be combated with assiduity and zeal, proportioned to its magnitude, and to the mischief of its tendencies.

Our complaint is not that Calvinism is combated, but that it is often combated ignorantly and unfairly; that the opinions and proceedings of modern Calvinists are in part misconceived; that truths of the first moment, truths essentially belonging to the gospel and the church of England, truths in which Calvinists and anti-calvinists agree, are occasionally hunted down as dogmas of Geneva; that men do not generally discern, that the existing evils of lukewarmness and indifference as to religion, are far, very far more prevalent and more pernicious than the existing evils of Calvinism.—We now proceed to the bishop's work.

An inquiry into the import of those passages in the Old and in the New Testament, on which the calvinistic system is rested; a detailed statement of the sentiments of all the ancient fathers, from the apostolic age down to Theodoret, who flourished A. D. 428; a series of quotations from the writings of Calvin; and an exposition of the tenets of the established church, as developed in our public formularies, these combined form the groundwork on which the bishop bravely builds his superstructure. To these previous recommendatory circumstances is to be added the name of the author, a prelate highly respectable in character, understanding, and attainments; followed by the mathematical reputation that he deservedly acquired at the University of Cambridge; and sincerely desirous, as we are satisfied, actively to watch over his diocese, and

according to his views of the tenor of scriptural doctrine, and of the nature of scriptural holiness, to lead forward his clergy, and through the medium of the clergy, the flocks committed to them, in soundness of faith, and in excellence of conduct.

We have repeatedly heard the observation made, and we think with justice, by persons^e each differing from the other in sentiments concerning the work before us, that the bishop ought graphically to have delineated in the outset the enemy with whom he intended to engage in battle: that in professing to refute Calvinism, it behoved him at once to put the public in possession of the tenets which he designed to refute. But this is but one instance, among many which might be named, of what appears to us to be the characteristic defect of the bishop's work; we mean great want of clearness in his lordship's views, and of unity in his plan and the execution of it. That the tenets of Calvinism, as existing among us, are frequently misconceived, partly as to their nature, and partly as to their practical results; and misconceived by persons from whom a description more accurate might reasonably be expected, we have already intimated. We shall therefore endeavour to furnish a general view of those tenets; and at the same time shall add some observations, which, as we trust, may have their use in clearing the subject, and in assisting our readers to form a just judgment on the Bishop of Lincoln's book. It is our purpose to investigate in an intelligible and simple manner the several topics to which we shall advert; and carefully to shun the thorny intricacies, and the bewildering twilight of metaphysics.

Of the system of Calvin, the following passages which we give from his institutes, in the words of the bishop's translation (p. 338, &c.), may be regarded as containing the sum.

“Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined with Himself, what He willed to be done concerning every man. For all men are not created in an equal condition (pari conditione): but eternal life is preordained to some, eternal damnation to others. Therefore as every one was formed for the one or the other end, so we say that he was predestinated either to life or death.” Inst. lib. 3. cap. 21. sect. 5.

“We assert that this counsel, with respect to the elect, was founded in His gratuitous mercy, without any regard to human worth: but that the approach to life is precluded to those whom he assigns to damnation, by His just indeed and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible judgment.” Ib. sect. 7.

“Therefore, if we cannot assign a reason why He (God), thinks his own worthy of mercy, except because it so pleased Him; neither shall we have any other ground for His reprobating others, except His will.” Ib. cap. 22. sect. 7.

"Since the disposition of all things is in the hand of God; since the power of salvation and of death resides in Him: He so ordains by His counsel and His will, that some among men should be born devoted to certain death from the womb, to glorify His name by their destruction." *Ib.* cap. 23, sect. 6.

"I confess that it (the decree of reprobation), is indeed a horrible decree, (*decretum quidem horribile* * *fateor*). No one, however, will be able to say, but that God foreknew what would be the end of man before he formed him. And he therefore foreknew it, because he had so ordained by his own decree." *Ib.* sect. 7.

"Therefore it is a false dogma, and contrary to the word of God, that God so either chooses or reprobates as he foresees, that every one will be worthy or unworthy of his grace." * *Rom.* 9, 21.

"I acknowledge that this is my doctrine, that Adam fell not by the mere permission of God, but also by his secret counsel, and that by his fall he drew all his posterity to eternal destruction." *De Occ. Dei Provid.* p. 735.

"I confess that I wrote that the fall of Adam was not accidental, but ordained by the secret decree of God." *Ib.* p. 736.

To the supreme predestinating decree of the most high, as announced in the preceding quotations, Calvin consistently ascribes the conduct of individuals. "Holiness, innocence, and whatever virtue there is in men, is the fruit of election." *Ephes.* 1, 4.

"Behold, He (God) directs his voice to them, (the reprobate) but it is, that they may become more deaf: he lights up a light, but it is that they may be made more blind: he proposes a doctrine, but it is that they may become more stupid by it: he applies a remedy, but it is that they may not be healed." *Inst.* lib. 3, cap. 24, sect. 13. "That the reprobate do not obey the word of God, when explained to them, will be rightly imputed to the wickedness and maliciousness of their own hearts, provided it be at the same time added, that they are therefore addicted to this wickedness, because they are raised up by the just but unscrutable judgment of God, to illustrate his glory by their damnation." *Ib.* sect. 14.

Those followers of Calvin who agree with him in ascribing not only the fate of individuals after the fall, but the fall itself to the pre-determining counsel of God, are called *supralapsarian Calvinists*.

From the full measure, however, of this tremendous fiat, numbers of predestinarians have shrunk appalled. They have therefore undertaken to establish the substance of their Calvinism on another basis. They disclaim all retrospect beyond the creation, except to the everlasting covenant of redemption.

* We are of opinion that the word "*horribile*" ought rather to be translated "*awful*" than "*horrible*," which implies something of guilt.

They commence with the state of man immediately after the fall. Considering Adam as appointed the federal head of the whole race of individuals, who to the end of time were to descend from him; considering him as thus having their eternal weal and woe committed to him, and suspended on his own obedience or disobedience to the command of his Maker respecting the tree of knowledge; considering him as in his federal capacity, having by transgression forfeited for all his posterity the divine favour, and the inheritance of heaven, and subjected them universally to the condemnation of hell; they describe the Deity as having thought fit, in the antecedent-contemplation of the transgression and of its consequences, from eternity to select in his divine purpose certain individuals from the entire number of the condemned species, and to ordain them by free grace to indefeasible salvation through the future sacrifice of his incarnate Son, while the reprobated mass was consigned to everlasting punishment. Occasionally they will illustrate their views of the divine determination, by the hypothetical case of a sovereign visiting a prison crowded with criminals under a deserved sentence of death, for the purpose of magnifying his mercy by gratuitously bestowing pardon on particular persons selected, not through any distinction of comparative inferiority in guilt, but merely according to his own will, of the grounds of which he owes no account to any man, and at the same time of exalting his justice, by abandoning all the rest to the severity of the law.

Thus the Supreme Being is by them represented as having from eternity chosen, not from any regard to foreseen faith and good works, but simply by his sovereign pleasure, certain individuals out of a world prospectively lying before him under total damnation; and, as having given them to Christ by an everlasting covenant of particular grace, and predestinated them to suit and immortal bliss. Those who maintain Calvinism according to this explanation of its doctrines are denominated sublapsarian Calvinists. And to this description, it is understood that in the present day the generality of English Calvinists belong.

There is yet a third class of Calvinists. The persons in question are termed Baxterians, from the truly pious and able, though fallible Baxter, whose opinions on the subject before us they adopt. He contended for predestination as to some, but disclaimed reprobation as to any. He affirmed that the Deity had from the beginning ordained, by his sovereign will, particular individuals to salvation; but that to all who were not thus elected to life eternal, he really and fully vouchsafes the capacity of attaining, through the universal Redeemer, an inheritance in heaven.

According to each of these views of Calvinism, it is manifest, that the doctrine of predestination necessarily involves within itself the sanctification and the final perseverance of the elect. If the elect are preordained to be saved, and if without holiness no man shall see the Lord, the elect will necessarily be sanctified. Again; if the elect are preordained to be saved, of necessity they will persevere to the end; that is to say, when once sanctified, they will either remain steadfast in a righteous course, or, if they depart from it, will assuredly be brought back to it by divine grace before they die. If a Calvinist object to the preceding expression "of necessity," and contend that the will of the elect is ~~in~~ close with the means of sanctification and of perseverance; it may suffice to reply, that their will cannot but of necessity close with those means, otherwise the predestination of God might fail of its accomplishment. As little force will be found, on discussion, in other metaphysical explications, and distinctions without a difference, which are not seldom advanced to repel anti-calvinistic arguments. Predestination is a firm and indissoluble chain, the first link of which commences in the eternal election of the favoured individual; and the last terminates in his establishment in glory at the day of judgement. The decree of God must stand; the elect must be saved. It is decreed from everlasting that the elect *shall* be called to the knowledge of religion; they *shall* listen to the call; that they *shall* be justified; that they *shall* be sanctified; that they *shall* persevere unto the end; that they *shall* be glorified for ever. According to the tenets also of Calvinists, (such persons only as agree with Baxter excepted) it must equally be manifest that the links of the chain of reprobation cannot be broken. The decree of God must stand; the reprobate must be lost. They *shall not*, be called to the knowledge of religion, or *shall not* listen to the call; they *shall not* be justified; they *shall not* be sanctified. they *shall not* escape the final destruction to which they are ordained. *

From the doctrine, however, of reprobation, with its difficulties and its horrors, modern Calvinists, who disclaim the views of Baxter, are frequently seen labouring to disentangle themselves and their system. Some would dispose of the doctrine by a change of name. "Our doctrine," they say, "is not reprobation, but preterition. We do not affirm that those who are not of the elect are reprobated, we only aver that they are *passed over* in the dispensation of grace." *Passed over!* What! when a man is lying under a sentence of damnation, and is purposely *passed over* in the dispensation of grace by which alone he could be delivered; is not he thus consigned necessarily and in-

evitably to damnation? Is not he as plainly consigned, purposely and necessarily and inevitably to damnation, as he could be were even a special decree to go forth for his perdition? Is common sense to be blinded by a phrase? Let Calvin himself return the answer. *Quos Deus præterit, reprobat.* "Those whom God passes over, he reprobates." *Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 1?*

Others again speak thus, "Predestination we hold; of reprobation we say nothing." But does your silence alter the fact? The question is not whether you are willing to admit that you believe the doctrine; but whether you do believe it. Is it or is it not a component part of your system? Do you believe it, or do you disbelieve it? If you believe it, how is it that you shrink from confessing that which you consider as revealed in the word of God? If you disbelieve it, why hesitate to declare your disbelief? and on what principle, if you are not Baxterians, do you disjoin reprobation from predestination?

"We are no Baxterians," implies a third set; "we believe that God bestows his saving grace only on the elect, whom he predestinated from eternity to salvation: and we believe that no person on whom that grace is not bestowed can be saved, still we do not believe in reprobation." On this distinction we will observe presently. But first let us be informed on what grounds you would establish it. "We believe," it is answered, "in predestination, because we see that doctrine unequivocally announced in the scriptures. But reprobation we do not perceive to be asserted there; consequently we do not feel ourselves bound to receive it among the articles of our faith."

Hear then in the first place Calvin himself, "Many, indeed, as if they wished to repel odium from God, so acknowledge election that they deny that any one is reprobated; but too ignorantly and childishly: since election itself would not stand unless opposed to reprobation." *Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 1.* In the next place, is reprobation in the sense meant by Calvinists to be perceived in the scriptures? Be it assumed for the sake of fairly meeting your reasoning, that your doctrine of predestination is asserted there. How is it possible on your own admission, on your own principles, to separate it from reprobation? If conformably to your statement, the scriptures unequivocally affirm that saving grace is vouchsafed exclusively to the predestinated; do not the scriptures thus affirm by implication, as unequivocally as they could have affirmed by express words, that all who are not predestinated are reprobated? If the scriptures had affirmed that no individual should be saved unless he should be born in Europe, would not they thus have reprobated every person born in any of the other quarters of the

globe? Would not the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, have been excluded from salvation as decisively as if they had been specifically named? If there be such a thing as reasoning applicable to religion, is not this conclusion inevitable and inextinguishable? If you deny this conclusion, on what ground do you call upon us to admit any conclusion whatever respecting any religious truth? Again, a Calvinist pressed by the weight of anti-calvinistic arguments, will sometimes endeavour to render his system more tenable by stating his own doctrine to be a *qualified* predestination. A qualified predestination is to our apprehension a direct contradiction. An event is predestinated, or it is not predestinated. It is left contingent, or it is not left contingent—there is no medium between predestination and non-predestination—between contingency and non-contingency. If a person affirms predestination, we understand him. If he denies it, we understand him. If he declares himself in doubt, whether predestination be the scriptural doctrine or not, we understand him. But when he speaks of a *qualified* predestination, we do not understand him: and we think—and it is without any arrogant or disrespectful meaning that we would state our persuasion—that he does not understand himself. Another softening explanation, which is very general among modern Calvinists who are not Baxterians, and is advanced by them, we doubt not with perfect sincerity, must not be left without notice. They allege that every man may be saved, *if he will*; that it is not a natural impossibility, but a moral impossibility, which prevents a man from obtaining salvation: that if he will turn unto God he shall be accepted through that Redeemer, who by his death gave a ransom sufficient for all, and who invites all to take advantage of that ransom. What is the difference between a natural and a moral impossibility? Is not the moral nature, with which fallen man is born, the important, the distinguishing, the characteristic part of his nature? And what is the meaning of the assertion, that every man may be saved *if he will*, when on the calvinistic doctrine none but the predestinate ever *can* will? Can a man *will* to turn unto God, except he have the grace of God? No. Can he have that grace but by the divine purpose? No. Is not that grace on the calvinistic hypothesis before us, limited by the divine purpose to the predestinated? Exclusively. Is it not then idle, is not it more than idle to declare of a person not of the number of the predestinated that he may be saved *if he will*; when by the divine purpose he is precluded from the grace by which alone he could be enabled to *will*? What would be our opinion of similar reasoning, if we were to hear it employed on any other subject?

It is thus that we have thought it requisite to shew what in our

estimation the calvinistic system, under its various modifications and expositions, really and essentially involves. We have now to perform a different duty, a duty strongly impressed upon us by the perusal of the bishop's work, that of vindicating the Calvinists against some misconceptions and misrepresentations with which they are not unfrequently assailed by their opponents. And lest, in this age of misconstruction, our own sentiments should, in consequence of this act of justice, be doubted; we must premise, if after the preceding remarks it can indeed be needful to premise, that we are certainly not Calvinists.

In the first place, eager anti-calvinists speak and write, as though calvinistic clergymen were continually preaching and teaching Calvinism. The reverse is the general fact. That some individuals among them bring forward their own tenets sedulously, and press them pertinaciously, is not to be denied. But among the calvinistic ministers within the establishment, we believe the number of such persons to be small. The generality of the calvinistic clergy in the English church but seldom bring forward their peculiarities from the pulpit; and produce them only in select cases to individuals in private. While they regard their own system not only as accurately scriptural, but as highly conducive to their personal consolation, and to their growth in grace, they regard it also as strong meat wholly unfit for babes; and are so aware of its liability to be perverted to the encouragement of evil, that they deem circumspection and judgment requisite, in order to decide when it may be mentioned with advantage to the hearer. And in their frequent declarations, that every man may be saved if he will seek salvation, and that no man is shut out from the kingdom of heaven unless he exclude himself, (topics on which we have already offered some remarks), they hold such language as, however consistent it assuredly is in their own estimation with their doctrinal tenets, would naturally give, in the ears of common auditors, an anti-calvinistic character to their discourses.

In the next place, from the arguments of anti-calvinists, it might not seldom be supposed that the Calvinist maintains that particular individuals are intuitively known by themselves, and distinctly by others, to be of the number of the predestinated; and, perhaps, even that all Calvinists are of that number. Such suppositions are altogether groundless. Whatever may have been the meaning of the 6th article rejected at Lambeth, the Calvinist affirms, that although God knows his own elect, no person has any foundation for being deemed, either by himself or by others, to be one of the elect, except so far and so long as he possesses the evidence of a holy life.

In the third place, anti-calvinists often speak and write of their

predestinarian opponents, as of men who depreciate moral obligation, and the importance of good works: nay rather, as of men who either must deny the necessity of christian virtue, or be totally inconsistent with the radical principles of their system. "Why," it is demanded, "is the Calvinist either to inculcate or to practise piety or morality? What can his efforts, or the efforts of any man avail in matters of salvation? What remains for any man to do, but to sit as tranquil as he may, until death shall dismiss him for eternity to his predestinated and inevitable condition?" Such controversialists ought to begin with enquiring, whether the Calvinist may not perhaps be practically inconsistent with his system? They ought to remember, that it may be entirely fair to charge upon a system certain consequences as following from it by logical induction, and at the same time wholly unfair to charge an individual, who maintains the system, with holding those consequences. He may disavow those consequences, whether consistently or inconsistently, yet with sincerity. We see not ourselves how the calvinistic system, as a system, can logically escape from the consequences with which the anti-calvinists, as we have stated, charge it. For if it be answered, according to the customary reply, that God has decreed the means, no less than the end; that he has preordained alike the holiness and the salvation of the elect; then is holiness a component part of the chain of predestination. But if you assure a Turk, who believes the precise moment of his death to have been unalterably fixed from eternity, that in consequence of that belief when he goes into battle, he uniformly offers his naked bosom passively to the sword of the enemy, while that Turk is conscious that he has invariably fortified himself with an iron breast plate, and has despatched his life in every conflict with the most watchful and vigorous exertion; will your peremptory induction of consequences have any effect upon his conviction? Will it alter facts? Will it promote your character for understanding, or your credit for equity as a disputant?

Let us now advance to the actual proceedings of the Calvinists. We admit, for we know, that among the dregs of the calvinistic body, there are instances of the most detestable antinomianism. But the dregs are not the body, whether in the church of England or out of it. And of calvinistic ministers, considered collectively, and without a larger proportion of exceptions than is usually to be allowed in general descriptions of any class of men, we believe, and we do not speak without some experience and observation, that they are earnest, sincerely earnest, in pressing the indispensable obligation of every moral duty. They see the scriptures replete in every part with exhortations to piety, to holiness, to every good word and work. They see the scriptures

authoritatively commanding every minister of the gospel, if he would be saved, habitually to teach these duties; and every man, if he would be saved, habitually to practise them. Hence, scarcely perhaps enquiring as to theoretic consistency, perhaps even acknowledging theoretic inconsistency, they faithfully exert themselves in preaching christian virtue, and in exemplifying it by their personal conduct: and we are able to produce, according to their aggregate number, many eminently active and useful pastors, many burning and shining lights of the church of God.

In the fourth place, it is sometimes affirmed, that Calvinists cannot be true members of the established church. That none but Calvinists are true churchmen, is a proposition which we have also sometimes known to be asserted, or strongly implied by Calvinists; and it is one which we deem to display the stamp of ignorance, or of bigotry. That the reverse of the proposition exhibits traces of the same stamp, we equally believe. But a more fit opportunity for giving our reasons for this belief will occur, during our examination of the work of the Bishop of Lincoln.

- In the chapter on original sin, free will, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, which stands first in the book, (and thus occupies a place, which, in our opinion, the materials now composing the seventh should have possessed in conjunction with additional and explanatory statements,) his lordship argues, that human nature, though greatly corrupted and depraved in consequence of the fall, was not divested by that event of all tendencies to holiness, and that free will was left to all men. To establish the truth of these doctrines, he advances a variety of passages from the Scriptures: and to prove them to be tenets of our church, he subjoins extracts from its public formularies.

The opposite doctrines he denominates calvinistic. We could have wished to have seen more of discrimination than we find in this position. The denial of free will is a calvinistic tenet. But the denial that any inherent tendency to holiness belongs to human nature in its present state, antecedently to the operation of divine grace upon the heart, is so far from being a peculiarity of Calvinism, that it is as strongly maintained by large numbers of strenuous anti-calvinists, who deem themselves completely warranted by our church in its homilies and forms, and inevitably compelled, by the emphatical and reiterated language of sacred writ, to believe, that *in our flesh*, in our unameliorated nature, *dwelleth no good thing*, Rom. 7. xviii.—The difference between them and the Calvinist is, as to the extent, not of the evil, but of the remedy. They hold, that divine grace to coun-

teract the evil is fully bestowed, not merely on the elect, but on every man. When the bishop alleges individual cases, as that "Enoch walks with God," that "Noah was a just man," that "Job was perfect and upright," (p. 5), that "some acts of mercy, justice, and self-denial are recorded in profane history," (p. 9), it is plain, that neither Calvinist nor anti-calvinist will be moved, as to his sentiments concerning ~~human~~ ^{human} nature. Each will ascribe the effect, not to original tendencies of nature, but wholly to grace given in Christ. But the universal call addressed in scripture to every man, satisfies us, that every man is truly and morally rendered capable of obeying it. We cannot accord with the bishop in his applications of some of the texts which he adduces; and we think, that the interpretation of Matt. ix. 13. which he combats (p. 11, 12.); that the word "righteous," there means, "those who consider themselves righteous," (an interpretation which he erroneously treats as calvinistic,) is supported by the context. But we cordially agree with him, that

"God gives to every man, through the means of his grace, a power to perform the conditions of the Gospel—a power, the efficacy of which depends upon the exertion of the human will. To deny this power to any individual, would be inconsistent with the attributes of God; to make this power irresistible, would destroy the free-agency of man." (P. 64).

The following passage is also very deserving of attention.

"In what manner, or in what proportion, if I may so say, God and man co-operate, I am utterly unable to explain or discover. But this is no more a reason for my disbelief of this co-operation, than my inability to comprehend the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is a reason for my disbelieving, that Christ was both God and man: *Modum quidem concursus gratiæ divini cū humana voluntate exacte definire, ac dicere, quid sola præstet gratia, quid cum et sub gratia liberum agat arbitrium, non exiguæ difficultatis res est. Imo hoc ipsum inter Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον et ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ὁδὸς non immerito fortassis a viris doctis ac piis reponitur. Sed modum rei utrunque ignoremus, res ipsa certe firmiter credenda est.* Even Augustine himself seems to admit, that the exercise of free-will is not irreconcilable with the operation of divine grace, although in discussing these subjects it is difficult to maintain the one without denying the other: *Si non est Dei gratia, quomodo salvat mundum? Et si non est liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum? Quia ista questio, ubi de arbitrio voluntatis et Dei gratia disputatur, ita est ad discernendum difficilis, ut quando defenditur liberum arbitrium, negari Dei gratia videatur; quando autem asseritur Dei gratia, liberum arbitrium putetur auferri.* That man possesses free-will, and that God by his spirit influences this free-will, without destroy-

ing it, is indisputably true; but how this is effected is to us an inexplicable mystery." (P. 35).

Upon the subject of the operation of the Holy Spirit, the bishop says, "I only maintain, that the operations of the Holy Spirit cannot be discerned from the operations of our own minds," and he adds let those who think differently point out the authority in Scripture, or in our public formularies, for saying, that a man may feel the influence of the Holy Ghost, so as to distinguish what sentiment, what intention, what inclination, or what resolution is owing to that influence." (P. 75.) Now the perception of this influence is chiefly a matter of experience. His lordship may never have discerned it in himself, but we think we may confidently appeal to many other sincere Christians, whether they do not, in most actions of their lives, distinctly perceive two opposite principles within them, perpetually at war with each other, and prompting contrary "sentiments, intentions, inclinations, and resolutions."—The one principle indolent, self-indulging, irritable, inconsiderate towards others, indifferent towards spiritual things—The other, active, benevolent, placable, forgetful of self, and full of the love of God. These, we apprehend, may, without either superstition or enthusiasm, be pronounced, upon the authority of the Bible itself, to be nature and grace.

These opposite and contending principles seem to answer nearly to the description given by St. James, of the wisdom, not from above, and *that* from above. The former, "earthly, sensual, devilish," the latter, "pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy." (James, iii. 15. and 17. vide also Rom. vii.) We must confess, that we think the bishop's doctrine upon the operation of the Holy Spirit a lowering one, calculated to mislead the inexperienced, to make them satisfied with their low attainments in religion, and to prevent their seeking further measures of grace.

In the 2d chapter, the bishop proceeds to treat of regeneration, a term which he states to be

"Frequently used by modern Calvinists, when speaking of their favourite tenets of instantaneous conversion and indefectible grace."

On this statement we would observe, that indefectible grace is a tenet truly calvinistic but that instantaneous conversion, though it may be a favourite idea with some Calvinists, is no part of Calvinism: and is a persuasion, at least as prevalent among the followers of Wesley, who are well known to be universally

and radically hostile to Calvinism.—A similar remark may be made respecting the “experiences,” (p. 71.) which the bishop seems to identify with Calvinism.

After the production of sundry passages from the New Testament, the learned prelate thus delivers his opinion concerning regeneration.

“The word regeneration therefore is in Scripture solely and exclusively applied to the one immediate effect of baptism once administered, and is never used as synonymous to the repentance or reformation of a Christian, or to express any operation of the Holy Ghost upon the human mind subsequent to baptism.” (P. 66.)

“There cannot be a second baptism, or a second regeneration.” (P. 85.) “We shall find this word used exactly in the same manner in “our liturgy, articles, and homilies.” (P. 87.) After various quotations from these documents, he adds,

“Hence it appears, that neither Scripture, nor the writings of our church, authorize us to call upon those who have been baptized, whether in their infancy, or at a mature age, to regenerate themselves, or to expect regeneration through the workings of the Holy Ghost. It is highly proper to exhort them to repent and to reform, to preserve or to repair that regenerate state which the spirit once gave them; to remind them, as St. Paul reminded his converts, that ‘they were buried with Christ by baptism into death, and that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so they also should walk in newness of life.’ But this is very different from teaching them to wait for a second regeneration—a sudden conversion—a sensible operation of the Holy Spirit effecting a total and instantaneous change in their hearts and dispositions.” (P. 92).

The bishop, we cannot but say, ought to have been much better informed, or much more considerate, than to have represented persons, who, whether rightly or wrongly, preach regeneration to baptized Christians, as generally meaning, “a sudden conversion, a sensible operation of the Holy Spirit, effecting a total and instantaneous change in their hearts and dispositions.” We believe, that such preachers among the Calvinistic clergy in the establishment would be a phenomenon. With respect to the real question, whether the term regeneration be, or be not the word, which accurately describes the doctrine to be preached to adults in our church; we should have passed it over slightly. But as we apprehend, that actual doctrine is at issue between the two parties, and that untenable ground is commonly occupied by each party; we shall add some few words on the subject.

In disagreement then more or less from sundry pious men, Calvinists, and anti-Calvinists (for with the bishop, to deem the

point calvinistic, is to misconceive it), and in concurrence thus far with the tenets of the work before us, we contend as follows: In the first place, we think that the term regeneration is employed in Scripture, to designate christian baptism. In the New Testament the word occurs twice, and only twice. Its meaning in Matt. ix. 28. is doubtful; and is greatly dependent on the collocation of a comma. In Tit. iii. 5. it seems plainly to be baptism. The verse appears to be parallel to John, iii. 5. The *washing of regeneration*, answers, to being *born of water*: the *renewing of the Holy Ghost*, to being *born of the spirit*. 2dly. We believe the term to have been used by the fathers, to denote baptism. The bishop adduces instances, as from Lætanus (Refutation, p. 301.), one of which, perhaps, speaks conclusively in behalf of infant baptism; from Clement of Alexandria (p. 311.), from Cyprian (p. 340.), from Gregory of Nazianzum (p. 374.), and quotes Wall's History of Infant Baptism, sect. 6. as affirming, that

“The Christians did in all ancient times continue the use of this name for baptism; so as that they never use the word regenerate or born again, but that they mean or denote by it baptism.” (P. 87.)

3dly. We acknowledge, that sanctifying grace is bestowed at baptism. The very circumstance that baptism is a sacramental ordinance of Christ; the analogy of baptism with circumcision; the words, and the conduct of our Lord respecting young children; not to dwell on the language cited by Lætanus, nor on that of any other of the fathers, unite in leading us to this judgment. We deem, that if an infant, born of heathen parents, (we purposely keep clear of all privileges ascribed, 1 Cor. vii. 14. to the child of a christian father or mother,) were baptized, and were immediately afterwards to die, it would die sanctified, entitled to the covenanted mercies of redemption, meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light. 4thly. We are clear that these are the doctrines of our church. In the service for the public baptism of infants, the minister prays that the child “may be washed and sanctified with the Holy Ghost, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration,” and pronounces him when baptized, to be “now regenerate,” and returns thanks to God, that it hath pleased Him “to regenerate this infant with the Holy Spirit.”—(Other accordant passages are specified by the bishop (p. 89, 92) from the book of Common Prayer, and from the homilies.

So far we admit, so far we contend, on the one hand. But on the other, the indisputable fact stares us in the face, that multitudes of baptized and professed Christians are daily proving

themselves by their principles and conduct to be the slaves of sin, absorbed in iniquity, equanimity to the grace of God, similar in heart and in life to the unbaptized heathen. When the inspired records divide all mankind, when they divide all professed Christians between two classes, *the children of God, and the children of the devil* (1 John, iii. 7, 10); if persons baptized in their infancy continue in adult life, *unchaste, thieves, or covetous, or drunkards, or revilers, or extortioners*; is the minister of the gospel to proclaim to them—*But ye, having been baptized, are washed, but ye are sanctified; but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God* (1 Cor. vi. 9, 11.)? Is he to announce to them from the pulpit, and in his private instructions, that, in their actual state, they *have put off the old man with his deeds*; that they are *born again of the spirit*; that they are *children of God*; that they are *new creatures in Christ Jesus*? We argue not for the word regeneration; we are not anxious about words, but about things. Even Dr. Paley, in his posthumous sermons, which, while they advance so much more nearly than his former publications to the genuine doctrine of Scripture, do not in every point come up to it; states, that to one part of our congregations *conversion* must be preached. And if we are rightly informed, that a prelate has said concerning Dr. Paley, that, had he lived half a year longer, he would have become a methodist; we should not be surprised if the saying was the consequence of that statement. When persons, such as have been described, and others living in other ways in a state of habitual alienation from God, abound in our congregations; when the number of the true servants of our Redeemer may often, perhaps, bear but a small proportion to the whole audience; is the preacher merely to admonish his hearers to repent and reform? Is he not to warn them, is he not most solicitously to press upon them, that the seed of divine grace implanted in them at their baptism may have been through subsequent wickedness smothered or taken away; that the spark of spiritual life, then kindled in their bosoms, may thus have been quenched: that they may now be in the same state of heart as an unbaptized heathen: that if they are practically proving themselves to be the children of the devil, they are in that state of heart, and their baptism profits them nothing? Is not he frequently and strenuously to exhort every individual to search, whether such be the case with himself: whether his heart bear the image of corrupt nature, or of sanctifying grace? And while he animates beforehand to persevering earnestness, in faith and in good works, those whom the result of humble and devout examination shall authorize to hope that their heart is decidedly

changed from its natural state, that they have in reality *put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness*;—is not he under the most solemn obligation, previously to declare to those who shall be found of a directly opposite character, that the total and momentous change, without which no man shall enter into the kingdom of God, call it regeneration, *being born again of the spirit*, call it conversion, call it being renewed (*made anew*) in the spirit of the mind, call it being a new creature in Christ Jesus, call it by whatever scriptural designation or description you may prefer, is still to take place in them?

The third chapter is allotted to justification, faith, and good works. A dead and a living faith are thus discriminated, p. 103.

“The faith, which a man may possess, and yet be ‘nothing,’ is a bare belief of the truth of the Gospel, without any love or gratitude to God for the blessings it conveys, or any practical regard to the duties it enjoins. The faith, which is the means of salvation, is that belief of the truth of the Gospel, which produces obedience to its precepts, and is accompanied by a firm reliance upon the merits of Christ.” (P. 103.)

Respecting justification, the bishop states that the “meritorious cause of justification is exclusively the blood of our Redeemer;” that the “mean” or “condition” of being admitted into a justified state is faith; that no human works can possess any merit in themselves before God, but that good works are indispensable to salvation.

From these positions, it might perhaps be inferred, that the bishop assents to the doctrine of *justification by faith only*, in its ordinary and true acceptation: that is to say, that he maintains that faith, as the only mean by which an interest can be at any time gained by any man in the meritorious cause of justification, alone justifies at all times; and that, so far as justification is concerned, the office of good works, fruits, and evidences of faith, which are indispensable to salvation, is to prove that the faith of the individual is not a barren conviction of the intellect, but is the *living faith which worketh by love*, the influential faith by which *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness*.

Such an inference, however, would be materially erroneous. The bishop is not contented with maintaining, as in truth he does maintain, scripturally and energetically, that without habitual holiness no man shall be saved; that the faith which does not produce good works is a useless and dead faith. He distinctly and repeatedly ascribes a justifying efficacy to works. His doctrine is, barely this: As it is that a man is

placed at his baptism in a justified state; so it is by works that he is thenceforward continued in it. Thus he represents faith and works as two co-ordinate and successive means of justification. This view of the subject will be disclaimed not merely by Calvinists, but by anti-calvinists: and will not be found, as we are firmly persuaded, to have the sanction of our church, or of the scriptures.

It has been, we presume, either one of the sources, or one of the consequences (we know not which branch of the alternative to prefer), of the bishop's inaccurate sentiments concerning justification, that he regards Saint Paul, whenever the apostle contends, and in whatever language, that we are justified by faith without the deeds of the law, as universally meaning to exclude from the office of justifying only the ceremonial works of the Mosaic law. If there be any unfounded positions in theology, the defence of which is singularly hopeless; we think that this position, however it may be the fashionable divinity of the day, is one of them. It will be sufficient to produce three or four proofs from among those which might be advanced. In the first place, when St. Paul says (Gal. iii. 10, 11, 12.—and see also Rom. x. 5.), *As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them: But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God it is evident; for, the just shall live by faith; and the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them shall live by them:* if you maintain that it is only of the ceremonial law that the apostle speaks, you must impute to his argument this extravagant absurdity, that the man who should punctually do the works of the ceremonial law would obtain life by them, utterly regardless as he might be of every one of the demands of the moral law. Nay you must impute to the apostle that extravagant absurdity in the face of this fact; namely, that the curse which the apostle quotes in the preceding passage, is the conclusion and the summing up of a long catalogue of curses denounced (Deut. xxvii. 13—26.), on a series of specified transgressions, every one of which transgressions is a breach of the moral law, and of the moral law only. In the next place, St. Paul represents the justification of Abraham by faith only (Rom. iv.), as the pattern of the justification of all believers: and he studiously guards us against the supposition, that the works which he excludes from any share in the justification of the patriarch, are merely ceremonial works, by observing that the *faith which was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness, was so reckoned not when he was in circumcision, but in uncir-*

circumcision; and that he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, yet being uncircumcised. Thirdly, the apostle when asserting justification by faith, without the deeds of the law (Rom. iii.), avowedly comprehends in his reasoning the Gentiles, who had never been subjected to any part of the ceremonial law; and pronounces that, as to justification, there is no difference between them and the Jews. Fourthly, St. Paul, as it were to cut off the very possibility of mistake, produces a specific instance to identify the law of which he is treating. What is the instance? a precept of the moral law: *Thou shalt not covet.* Rom. vii. 7.

If there be a doubt in the mind of any man, whether the doctrine of our church on this point, be that of the Bishop of Lincoln, or the reverse; it may be removed, by referring to the authoritative homily concerning justification, (the homily to which the 11th of the 39 articles directs us), as quoted by the bishop himself, p. 150. "This is that justification of righteousness which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith, No man is justified by the works of the law, but freely by faith in Jesus Christ.—This saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely and without works, is spoken, for to take away clearly all merit of our works." By "our works" the homily necessarily means works of the moral law; it could not intend works of the ceremonial law, which had never pertained to us, and had at that time been abolished 1500 years.

The expression "*our own good works*" speedily occurs, and with a renewed reference to St. Paul; and the homily proceeds in the same train of argument.

Unhappy as we deem the bishop to be in his reasoning throughout considerable portions of the present chapter, there is yet an intermixture of many useful observations, and he successfully repels the calvinistic tenet, that justification once attained cannot be lost. In the latter part of the chapter he makes vehement and indiscriminate war on a class of men "who," as he states, "invidiously arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of Evangelical Clergy," p. 174. They are the persons, as appears from certain retrospective words, whom he had previously characterised, p. 170, as "the enthusiasts of the present day," and concerning whom he intimated, that

"If these preachers do not in so many words tell their hearers, that their moral conduct will have no influence upon the sentence which will be pronounced upon them in the last day; or if they do not entirely pass over in silence the great duties of morality,

yet that

"they dwell so much more earnestly and more frequently upon the

necessity and merit of faith, as to induce an opinion that good works are of little comparative importance." (P. 171.)

In another place (p. 164) he represents them as making faith the constant subject of their discourses; and p. 165, as preaching that a man "has only to cherish faith in his mind, and he will be eternally happy," &c. as not enjoining their hearers "to abstain from lying, drunkenness, theft, and fornication;" and he further says of the corruption of manners which we perfectly admit would follow from such preaching, "whoever has lived in the neighbourhood of certain preachers, will testify that it has taken place." Again, when he speaks, p. 182, of calvinistic ministers, "with all their zeal to support the doctrine of salvation through faith alone, and all their anxiety to depreciate the importance of moral virtue," he designates the same persons. And having charged them, p. 176, as teachers who "encourage vice and immorality among their followers;" he adds in the following page,

"I give them credit for zeal and good intention, but I think the manner in which they perform the duties of their ministry, both public and private, injudicious and mischievous in the extreme; and the dangerous tendency of their tenets and practice cannot be exposed too frequently, or with too much earnestness."

Our opinion of the evangelical clergy (so denominated, as we trust, by other men, rather than by themselves) we have recently given, as well as the admirable effects which their exertions have upon the moral conduct of their flocks* (Nos. II. p. 424. III. 104.): and we see no reason for altering it. Whatever justice there may be, and we think that there appears to be much, in some of the censures which the bishop directs against Mr. Overton personally; we cannot hesitate to affirm, that the description which the preceding extracts profess to give of the body of clergy in question merits any character rather than that of likeness to the original. Let men well informed and without prejudice decide for themselves upon this point. It is one of the errors into which the bishop has fallen respecting the clergy termed evangelical, that he regards them as a consolidated mass of Calvinists. There are many anti-calvinists among them; and the number has been, and probably will continue on the increase. It is now becoming the custom among the ignorant and the lukewarm, to style any clergyman, nay any layman, who appears more anxious than his neighbour on the subject of religion, a Calvinist. This term, in its general application as a stigma, is gradually stepping into the place of the term Methodist. But this is an evil of small magnitude compared with the still more prevalent habit, a habit with which the Bishop of Lincoln is not

* See also the article in this number on Dr. Butler's Sermon.

a little infected; that of considering parts and very important parts of the common ground of genuine Christianity, as the private and exclusive territory of Calvin. If doctrines which Calvinists hold in union with anti-calvinists are to be thus denounced, we may live to hear the inspiration of the scriptures, and the being of a God, branded as tenets of Calvinism. Party in the church is altogether repugnant to our sentiments and our feelings. Of any evangelical party in the church we wish the extermination as cordially as the Bishop of Lincoln does. By what means do we wish it exterminated? By the entire concurrence of all the clergy in preaching in every respect according to the gospel. We are completely of the opinion of an archbishop eminent for nervous sense and for sobriety of mind—"We have in fact lost many of our people to sectaries, by not preaching in a manner sufficiently evangelical, and shall neither recover them from the extravagancies to which they have run, nor keep more from going over to them, but by returning to the right way ourselves, and declaring all the counsel of God."—Secker's Charges, 3d edit. p. 299.

The bishop now at length approaches the citadel of his antagonists; his fourth chapter discusses universal redemption, election, and reprobation. That redemption through Jesus Christ is offered universally, and that every man is enabled to attain it, the bishop forcibly shews from the Old Testament and from the New.

"As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men to justification of life; for as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.' The sin of Adam and the merits of Christ are here pronounced to be co-extensive; the words applied to both are precisely the same; 'Judgment came upon all men,' 'the free gift came upon all men'—'Many were made sinners,' 'Many were made righteous'—Whatever the words 'all men' and 'many' signify, when applied to Adam, they must signify the same when applied to Christ. It is admitted, that in the former case the whole human race is meant; and consequently in the latter case the whole human race is also meant. The force of the argument is destroyed, and the most acknowledged rules of language are violated, by so interpreting this passage, as to contend, that all men are liable to punishment on account of the sin of Adam, and that a few only are enabled to avoid that punishment through the death of Christ. Nay, we are even told, that 'where sin abounded, grace did much more abound;' but how can this be, if sin extends to all, and grace is confined to a part only of mankind?" (P. 189.)

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son,"

that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' In this and many other passages of the New Testament, relating to the motive and design of Christ's Advent, God's love for the world is declared in general terms; and surely these texts are irreconcilable with the idea of God's selecting out of mankind a certain number whom he ordained to save, and of his leaving the rest of mankind to perish everlastingly. How can God be said to love those to whom he denies the means of salvation; whom he destines, by an irrevocable decree, to eternal misery? It might be said, that God loved the individuals whom he delivered from the sentence of punishment; but it seems impossible to say, that he loved those, to whom he would afford no assistance, and who he knew, from want of that assistance, must inevitably suffer all the horrors of guilt and the pain of eternal punishment." (P. 195.)

Surely the mode of interpretation by which Calvinists sometimes endeavour to elude the force of the text, namely, by contending that *the world* which *God so loved* is the world of the elect, is below criticism!

It should be observed, that Calvinists frequently describe themselves as holding the doctrine of universal redemption. And it is true that, believing the scriptures, they assent in some measure satisfactorily to themselves to the scriptural declarations, that our Lord died for all men, and to other similar texts. But the sense in which the assent is given proves on examination to be either that all men may be saved, *if they will* (a sentiment which, as maintained by Calvinists, we have already discussed), or that the atonement of Christ was *in value sufficient* to be a ransom for the sins of all men; or some other restricted meaning, radically different from the anti-calvinistic, and in our estimation, the genuine import of such passages. To hold those passages in their genuine and universal import, is incompatible with the calvinistic tenets of election and predestination. If without any regard to foreseen faith and obedience, certain individuals are exclusively pre-ordained to salvation; redemption cannot be universal. And we deceive ourselves in affirming it to be universal, while we join with it other tenets which of necessity constitute it particular redemption.

The bishop proceeds to evince from the Old Testament, and from the New, that the terms elect and predestinated are applied in scripture only to collective bodies of men in outward covenant with God, and it might be added, if to an individual, to that person as being one of such a body, (see 2 John x. 13.) without implying any certainty of final salvation; and that the scriptural use of the word reprobate is totally free from the calvinistic signification.

"The election and predestination here spoken of relate to God's eternal purpose to make known to the Ephesians the mystery of his will in the blessings of the gospel, and he calls them 'saints' and 'faithful,' because of the firmness and constancy with which they hitherto held fast the profession of their faith; but still, instead of representing their salvation as certain, he earnestly exhorts them to 'walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called;' guards them against those deceits which bring down 'the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience;' and commands them 'to put on the whole armour of God, that they may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil:' it was therefore possible for those, who were 'saints,' 'faithful,' 'chosen,' and 'predestinated,' to walk unworthily, to incur the wrath of God by disobedience, and to yield to sinful temptations, and consequently to fail of salvation." (P. 207.)

Thus also when that apostle says of himself,

"I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away," or reprobate, the word in the original being *ἀδόκιμος*; he could not mean, lest he should be a person destined by God from all eternity to everlasting punishment. In the preceding verse he says, 'I so run, not as uncertainly;' and upon other occasions he expresses a confident hope in his own salvation, founded in a consciousness of his exertions and sufferings 'for the gospel's sake,' and of his sincere obedience to that religion, which 'he had preached to others.' He was at the same time aware, that if he did not 'keep under his body, and bring it into subjection,' if he did not resist the evil propensities of his nature, and walk worthy of his holy vocation, his employment as a minister of Christ and apostle of the Gentiles would not prevent his being 'rejected' at the great day of final retribution. On the other hand, had he conceived himself to be one of the elect, he could not have admitted the possibility of his becoming a reprobate, in the calvinistic sense of those words." (P. 221.)

The examination is satisfactorily pursued through other texts, which, though not specifically naming election or reprobation, have been thought favourable to the calvinistic system. If in any point our private interpretation of any of these texts differ from that of the bishop, it is still an interpretation equally disjoined from Calvinism.

On the subject of the divine foreknowledge, and the freedom of the human will, the bishop justly observes,

"I do not attempt to explain, or pretend to understand, how the free-agency of man is reconcileable with the providence of God. I cannot comprehend how those future contingencies, which depend upon the determination of the human will, should be so certainly and infallibly foreseen, as to be the objects of the sure word of pro-

phesy ; still, however, I believe both in the prescience of God and free-agency of man, for the reasons already stated ; and I see in them no contradiction to each other, or to any acknowledged truth. Here is a just exercise of my faith, upon a subject which exceeds the limits of my understanding ; it is above, but not contrary to, reason." (P. 250.)

Surely there is no room to doubt whether an omnipotent God *can* leave foreknown things contingent. * That he does leave foreknown things contingent is manifest ; for otherwise you represent him as necessitating every sin that is committed. The mode in which the foreknowledge and the contingency are harmonized is undisclosed to us, and is of no concern to us. The fact that they are harmonized is sufficient.

Towards the conclusion of the chapter, ample proof is given from the articles, offices, and homilies, that our church inculcates the doctrine of universal redemption, and considers all Christians as the elect people of God, and capable of attaining salvation. With respect to the 17th article, we unwillingly feel ourselves compelled in one point, to stop short of the bishop's conclusion. We agree with him " that the calvinistic doctrines of election and reprobation are not maintained in this article," but we are not convinced, that " they are disclaimed and condemned in the strongest terms," p. 269. Neither the phraseology of the article, nor the history of the period when the articles were compiled, seems to bear out such a conviction. We apprehend, that although Cranmer and some of his coadjutors were not Calvinists, calvinistic opinions were adopted by so many persons at that time, and were deemed of such moment by their adherents, that the framers of the articles did not judge it expedient either to pass over the subject in silence, or to weaken the national church, by excluding from it a large division of English protestants : but purposely couched the article in broad and indefinite terms, in the hope that it might be fairly capable of being understood by both parties, as not contradictory to their respective tenets, and thus might obtain the conscientious subscription of both. Hence we infer, that the church intended to leave its door open to the Calvinist ; and we therefore allow that a Calvinist may be a true churchman. When we turn our eyes on Hopkins, on the *judicious* Hooker, on the many other splendid luminaries of our church, who have been Calvinists, are we to reject and disclaim them ? Can we think of such men, and in the bigoted fury of modern controversy (we deny any supposable allusion to the Bishop of Lincoln) talk of the calvinistic *heresy* ?

The succeeding chapter, though highly creditable to the industry of the learned prelate, and very powerful in its bearing on

his subject, does not easily admit of being abstracted. It contains 220 pages of quotations from the fathers commencing with Ignatius, a contemporary with the apostles, and terminating with Theodoret, who flourished about A. D. 423, forming a collective body of evidence adverse to the tenets of Calvinism; and elucidating the primeval opinion of the Christian church. Of such authentic testimony the cogency mainly results from the length and the continuity of the chain. Some few extracts would but state the sentiments of some few individuals. And the extent to which the review of the work before us is already carried, admonishes us to draw our observations to a close.

In the sixth chapter the bishop strengthens his general argument by shewing that some among the early heretics maintained opinions resembling tenets of Calvinism, and were on that account censured by nearly contemporary fathers.

Although we think some of his evidence rather equivocal, yet as we do not conceive the object of this chapter to be of much importance, we forbear making any extracts from it, our article having already made a large demand upon the patience of our readers.

The seventh chapter contains ample quotations from the writings of Calvin; from which we have produced sufficient extracts in our preliminary statement of the calvinistic system. Those which we have not cited are in unison with the passages which we have laid before our readers. The bishop subjoins the Lambeth articles proposed by Archbishop Whigitt and others, on the part of the calvinistic clergy, A. D. 1593, and speedily suppressed by the command of queen Elizabeth, and again rejected by James I. at his accession, when they were again demanded in the conference at Hampton Court, and also adds the five articles decreed at the synod of Dort, which synod was a representative of all the calvinistic churches of Europe, those of France excepted; and was attended by some divines from England. The bishop desires, and with entire tranquillity as to the result may desire his readers to judge, "whether any thing like these doctrines be contained in the articles, liturgy, or homilies, of our church." (P. 560.)

In a short concluding chapter, an historical sketch is given of the origin and the progress of the doctrines now termed calvinistic. The bishop, though he mentions traces of them among the Basilidians, Valentinians, and other early heretical sects, observes that,

"The peace of the church seems to have been very little disturbed by any dissension upon these points during the first four centuries; and as a proof of this, it may be observed, that there is

nothing of a controversial spirit in the exposition the fathers have given of the texts in scripture, which have since been the subject of so much dispute." (P. 573.)

Augustine, in his controversy with the Pelagians, brought forward these doctrines. Of that father, the Bishop of Lincoln says, "I know of no author ancient or modern, in whose works there are so many inconsistencies and contradictions." (P. 575, note.) His predestinarian tenets gained no extensive influence, and little was heard of them until Goteschalc, in the ninth century, was scandalously persecuted for reviving them. They were in repute with the early schoolmen; and nearer to the time of the reformation were maintained by the Dominican and the Augustine monks against the Franciscan, and the Jesuits. A brief account of the growth of calvinistic opinions in our own church is added. Among some just observations tending to evince that calvinistic tenets are not taught in any of our public formularies, we lament to see the bishop again representing sudden conversions, instantaneous operations of the Holy Spirit, and the denial of the necessity of good works, as component parts of Calvinism.

We would willingly hope that we have so conducted our examination, as to qualify our readers to form a rational judgment both respecting the bishop's work, and respecting our own observations upon it. The book has deservedly attracted the attention of the public; and in our opinion, has sometimes been censured with little candour, and at other times has been loaded with very extravagant and undistinguishing praise. It contains an abundance of valuable matter, mixed with much error and want of discrimination, and we must fairly say, no slight infusion of prejudice. The gold is blended and incorporated with so large a proportion of alloy, that we should be deeply concerned to see the mass regarded as a material fit to constitute the current coin of religion among us.

ART. XV. *An Attempt to estimate the Increase of the Number of Poor during the Interval of 1783 and 1803; and to point out the Causes of it: including some Observations on the Depreciation of the Currency.* London, Murray. Edinburgh, Blackwood. Dublin, Mahon. 1811. 8vo. pp. 113.

IN stepping a little aside from the ordinary custom of our fraternity, to put our readers in possession of the opinions contained in the last number of the *British Review*, on the principle

of population, we were well aware of the connection which it holds with the subject which we have now undertaken to discuss. Our expectation that the return of the census to parliament would be followed by some inquiry into the number and increase of the poor has not been deceived *. And as the mere numerical returns to any such inquiry would lead the judgment of persons not conversant with the practical tendency of the poor laws, or who have not deeply reflected on their principles, into very erroneous conclusions, both on the actual state of the people, and on the tendency of the laws themselves;—we have not hesitated to secure the occasion offered by the pamphlet before us, to lead the public mind into a view of the subject which has not yet, we believe, been extensively presented to its consideration. We must first, however, beg the indulgence of our readers for the following general remarks.

We think that it must be obvious to every man who has attentively studied, and reflected upon, the laws and constitution of Great Britain, that our ancestors have bequeathed to us a system of polity exclusively calculated for a country in a career of progressive prosperity, and of continual advancement in public happiness and civilization:—nay, that the system has been so providently constructed, or so fortuitously mixed together, that so long as we are faithful to its leading features, moral and political, we may feel an assurance little short of certainty, that this progressive course will continue. This may be called by some a British prejudice—a theoretic assumption of unenlightened partiality:—but if it be a prejudice or an illusion of theory, it is built on the semblance of solid fact more apparently real, than any that ever yet proved to be essentially void of substance. For we will venture to assert, that in no country of which the page of history, or the researches of travellers, have rendered an account, has the impulse of voluntary and steady exertion descended so low in the scale of society; because every man in every condition of life is satisfied not only that the fruits of his industry will be sacredly preserved to him and his posterity, but that if he be actually moral in his conduct, and industrious to the extent of his means, the laws of his country have ordained that any deficiency in those means shall be made up to him from the superfluity of his fellow citizens.

The interests of the higher orders are so intimately blended with those of the lower, through every gradation of society, without break or chasm, that the smallest disarrangement of any part is felt in the remotest extremities. And the

* See Mr. Brougham's notice in the House of Commons, Jan. 17, 1812.

glorious result of this combination is, what no age or country ever before exhibited, the gratuitous assistance of the great body of enlightened and independent men in carrying on the legitimate operations of government, precisely in those remote branches to which no hired agent can effectually penetrate; but the care of which, if neglected, can only be supplied by the ramifications of arbitrary power. What country can exhibit the minds of a *free people* brought into *voluntary* submission to great personal and pecuniary sacrifices, by the example and intermediate agency of their natural protectors, whose feelings and interests are nearly identified with their own? And how many countries have thought it necessary to supply the defect of such an arrangement by exacting from an enslaved people forced contributions, through the agency of their natural oppressors, whose feelings and interests run in a directly opposite current?

That our periodical elections, the substantial equality of our laws, and the freedom of parliamentary discussion, are the main causes of this enviable distinction, we readily admit; but we are also convinced, that the bond of union between the higher and the lower orders provided by the poor laws should not be overlooked in the account, inasmuch as they place the *gratuitous performance* of the duties we have before detailed upon the solid and permanent basis of *self-interest*. Proprietors are placed in this dilemma—either they must prevent the distresses of the lower orders by attention to their moral and political condition, or they must incur the necessity of relieving those distresses when aggravated by neglect, at an increased expence to themselves. We think that we are justified in ascribing this merit to the poor laws, by a comparative view of the condition of the people of England, and of another country where their non-existence has gone far to neutralize many of the advantages of a free and representative system of government. In Ireland the peasantry has for many ages been generally neglected by their superiors, with perfect impunity; and we had occasion to show the lamentable result in an article in our 2d Number, on Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues. But had the proprietors of Ireland felt conscious that all the ignorance, the vice, the idleness, and the misery which they have suffered to grow up among the unemployed population of that country, would have recoiled upon themselves in the shape of legal demand for redress and relief, they would necessarily have exercised a greater portion of personal superintendence, and the peasantry would only have increased their numbers in proportion as their labour was required in the pursuits of regular industry.

We believe that it may be admitted as a general axiom in the

politics of a free and extensive country, that when once a strong bond of reciprocal interest is established between the higher and lower orders of the community the statesman's task is well performed to his hand;—and that such a people, by their native energy and internal resources, will not only preserve the integrity of their own empire, but must, by the force of their institutions, gradually triumph over their enemies.

In Scotland the feudal system prevented the introduction of a state of degeneracy, similar to that in Ireland;—and as *poor laws* have for a very long time subsisted in Scotland, poor's *rates* have been regularly called into operation, in proportion as the feudal system has worn away, and commerce, manufactures, and tillage usurped the seats of baronial splendour, and encroached upon the idle hospitality of the lords of the waste *.

An institution, which produces such phenomena in society, must necessarily rest on grounds of deep moral and political expediency. It has been asserted by some, particularly by foreign writers, to be the millstone around the neck of England, which must at length engulf her with no tardy fate in a sea of ruin; and we are willing to admit that it is, in the spirit of our other institutions, calculated for a state of progressive prosperity, but that it may accelerate our downfall, should the circumstances of the country begin to decline. But to compensate this evil we think it will appear, that, under Providence, so long as the several ranks of the people are true to themselves and to each other, such a state of declension is not within the scope of probability. And we have yet to learn, that a law or institution is objectionable, because it is inconsistent with a selfish neglect of duty in those for whose government it is intended.

It is not, therefore, to this class of objections to the poor laws that we now think it necessary to call the attention of our readers. They have been attacked by arguments that much more forcibly affect their moral and political expediency: they have been said to hold out a premium to idleness—to aggravate, instead of relieving, the miseries of the poor—to call forth a superabundant population, which they make an audacious pretension of ability to support, only to plunge them into deeper misery—and, finally, that they have a direct and obvious tendency to multiply the objects of their pretended charity, and thus to reduce the mass of the population into the state of paupers, dependent upon the public purse for their daily sub-

* The subject of the poor and the poor laws of Scotland has been much misrepresented and misunderstood. We should be glad of an early opportunity to lay before the public some information which we possess on that interesting subject.

sistence, and to depress the national character below the level of other countries.

It might perhaps be sufficient to appeal to the evidence of facts and daily experience against some of these assertions; but as controversial writers of a certain description have a very ingenious mode of explaining away *general proofs*, of however sturdy a nature they may be, we are willing to grapple a little more closely with these objections. We are the more desirous of being indulged in this wish, as we are not without the hope of suggesting certain considerations on this most important and deeply interesting subject, which are intimately connected with the view of the principle of population laid before our readers in the last number of the *British Review*.

The pamphlet before us is the result of some research; and though we are disposed to believe that it originated principally in a desire to add one additional argument to the unfortunate list which the advocates of the bullion report have with exemplary perseverance pressed against the general conviction of the public; yet the author has certainly had sufficient regard to propriety to induce him to look with some attention into the authorities extant on the subject he professes to treat. Considering the lights hitherto let in upon it, he has in some instances treated his question ably, in many others with considerable want of caution and correctness. That the nominal amount of the sums collected under the poor laws has increased in proportion to the diminution in the value of money, is obvious to common sense. But this is no proof whatever, that the diminution in that value has been caused by an excessive issue of paper. It leaves the main argument of the bullion report exactly where it found it; and we shall not therefore think it necessary to take any further notice of this the main object of the pamphlet. We shall occasionally refer to the other arguments in the course of this article, and shall now be content with briefly remarking, in justification of the author, that there is no subject of political economy more difficult than that which he has undertaken to handle. It involves not only the general principles of the science, but their practical application to the minds and manners of a set of beings, who are by no means to be known or understood by analogy with any other order of society. We shall not wonder, therefore, that the attempt to investigate it has so often failed, when we reflect that few squires, or magistrates, are great adepts in the science of political economy; and still fewer political economists, conversant with the labouring poor, with the interior of a cottage, or with the rules and regulations of a work-house.

But a reader of judgement, who views this subject as he ought, will always look upon theory with suspicion, whenever it appears to contradict open and palpable fact. In truth, when he considers the confined nature of the human intellect, and how incapable it is of fathoming the principles which determine the condition of mankind, and consequently of bringing abstract positions to bear upon the real state of society; when he reflects moreover, how often principles dogmatically promulgated as universal by one set of philosophers, have, in the progress of human science, and the further developement of facts, been relinquished as absurd, by their successors; nothing will appear more amusing than the magisterial tone of our modern philosophers, and their peevish impatience of contradiction. There is something very captivating in paradox, and a writer, to secure admiration, must take care to soar above ordinary comprehension. Men are apt to suppose they have made great discoveries when they have learned to reason against received opinion and ancient practice, and the prejudices supposed to be founded upon them. The dogmas of contradiction are the most difficult to be dislodged from our minds. These observations seem particularly true in respect to the arguments against the poor-laws; those arguments appear to be all teeming with paradox, and for the reasons given at the close of the last paragraph, as well as from their intricacy and diffused nature, are with difficulty understood by ordinary writers and readers.

To embrace the whole system on the present occasion is, we fear, impossible; but we may at least attempt to lay bare the foundations, leaving the superstructure to future opportunities, which we doubt not will frequently occur.

The consideration, then, of the fundamental principles of the poor laws, naturally divides itself into two parts: 1. Their policy; and, 2. Their humanity. And, unless both can be conspicuously and decidedly proved, the only remaining point must be to consider of the best means of their abolition: for policy inconsistent with humanity is disgraceful to a Christian country; and humanity that cannot be made to square with true policy, must rest on false pretensions, and be in fact a weakness which we should be among the last to tolerate.

1. The policy of the poor laws evidently depends very much on their effect upon population, and the wages of labour. It will be found, upon reference to the returns of 1803, that about one-third of the people live in towns large enough to prevent them from reproducing their own numbers; and it is obvious to common observation, that of the remainder a very large portion, compared with other countries, are lifted, by the general

spread of civilization, out of that state of society most favourable to the increase of population. (see p. 467 and 470 of our last volume.) The returns just presented to the House of Commons, though they exhibit a general increase of numbers in every county, yet prove that this increase has borne a greater proportion in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts. Now as we know that the people could not have been reared in those situations, it is evident that they must have been bred in the agricultural districts, and afterwards have been attracted to the manufacturing towns by the demand for employment. And we find that the moderate and steady increase in the agricultural districts is about sufficient to supply the demand of the towns for recruits, according to the mode of calculation stated in the 468 and 469 pages of our last volume. Keeping these facts steadily in view, and bearing in mind the statement in p. 466 of our last volume, in proof that a country in the manufacturing state of society can only increase its supply of food from the soil in consequence of a pre-existing demand for it from an increased population, we think that the policy of the poor laws may be illustrated somewhat in this manner.

In a country where the demand for men is so rapidly and continually increasing, and the natural means of supplying it constantly diminishing, from the increase of artificial habits, and of commercial and manufacturing towns, it would appear almost impossible even by *direct* encouragement to population, to accelerate its increase faster *than the wants of the state* require.

But a necessary precaution suggests itself, that the acceleration should not proceed faster than the rate at which the demand thereby created for food can be conveniently supplied, in time to prevent a pernicious pressure against the means of subsistence. For although we saw, in the last number of the *British Review*, that population will not *naturally* press to an inconvenient degree against the means of subsistence, if left to itself, under a moderately good and free government, yet it is easy to perceive, that artificial encouragements may be so constituted as to produce that effect. Now it should seem, that there cannot be a more complete and advantageous method of obviating this evil, than by providing, if possible, that the same artificial means by which the rate of population is increased, should be so contrived as to afford, at the same time, a corresponding encouragement to cultivation, without diminishing that which is due to commerce and manufactures. Because by this triple effect all the conditions necessary to a healthy progress in prosperity are fulfilled, and it becomes, under Providence, complete, permanent, and secure.

This triple object must be attained first, by artificially increasing the number of persons resident in situations best calculated for rearing large families, somewhat beyond the natural demand of those places for labour. These persons must, therefore, be assisted in rearing more children than a low average rate of wages would enable them to preserve. But, secondly, this object must be attained by a mode that will not, in general, raise the wages of labour so as permanently to affect manufactures, nor that will, thirdly, diminish the demand for food so as permanently to injure the interests of agriculture. According to the ordinary principles of political economy, these two latter conditions are incompatible:—we shall presently see how far the poor laws may tend to reconcile them. The cheapest and most effectual mode of maintaining an additional set of the most healthy breeders for the community, is to place them in the agricultural villages, which are the situations most favourable to childbearing, and to the health of children. A smaller number of parents will thus produce an equal increase of people, more will be reared to perfection, and the individuals, when reared, will be finer and more efficient animals. In England, therefore, our peasantry should be enabled to rear large families. But in England, the wages of the peasantry are not more than enough to enable a labourer to support his wife and two children on an average. They cannot, therefore, raise large families without assistance, or a proportionate increase of their wages.

But as wages must be paid to labourers in proportion to the work which they perform, and not to the size of their families, we are reduced to this dilemma, either we must pay *to all*, to the unmarried and vigorous youth, and to the married with small or no families, the same amount of wages as will be sufficient to enable a peasant to rear a large family;—or the population which is absolutely necessary to our prosperity, nay to our existence as a commercial and manufacturing nation, cannot be reared. While, on the other hand, if the necessary population be thus reared, it will be at so enormous and useless an expence as entirely to swallow up all the profits contemplated by the merchant and manufacturer, as his inducement to carry on his business, and thus to annihilate those sources of employment. The direct political effects of paying to every labourer double of the real amount of his present wages are too obvious to need elucidation; but there is a moral effect indirectly involving political consequences which must not be omitted. If every youth upon arriving at the age of vigorous exertion, which is also that of unruly passion, could exchange his labour against as much of the luxuries and necessities of life, as would be equivalent to

the support of a man, his wife, and six children, the temptation would not only expose him to an inevitable corruption of morals, but a portion of his time, at least equal to a third of that for which his country has a legitimate demand upon his labour, would be wasted in idleness. For the ale of Britain has always been found no less powerful than the wine of Persia, in overcoming the moral and religious precepts of the people. And thus would a decrease of exertion take place in proportion to the necessity for an increase to meet the augmented expence. At least that commerce and manufactures could be preserved under these difficulties will not, we think, be contended.

But if a mode could be devised, which would impart to the peasant the power of rearing a large family, without exposing the community to so enormous an expence, or the labourer with small, or with no families, to so irresistible a temptation, the advantage would be great in point of economy, and not small in point of morality; for the labourer with a large family would be raised above the necessity of resorting to degrading or unjustifiable means for their subsistence, and the remainder debarred from the means of riotous excess, or vicious idleness, while the sources of comfortable and creditable support would lie open before them.

This object, we venture to assert, is completely attained by the poor laws. They support the families of the labouring poor to the extent of any deficiency in their own fair exertions,—but they offer assistance to such *families only*, thereby ensuring all the advantages of such a general rise in wages as was contemplated in the preceding paragraph, without any of the counter-vailing evils, and (to say nothing at present of the moral effects,) the general saving to the country, in point of economy, is to the full extent of the expence which would be incurred by paying to *every labourer* that which they now pay only to a small proportion of them. We may obtain some idea of the amount of this saving, from the following data. The labourers of England, with their families, did probably amount, in 1803, to about six millions; but the whole number of poor relieved out of workhouses, *including their children*, did not exceed 956,248 *, including also casual poor widows, and orphans, subsisted by their relations, with a small allowance from the parish, and persons afflicted with occasional sickness. Every magistrate, however, who has acted extensively in country districts knows, that a great proportion of what are called the *outpoor*, consists of the families of parents who have many children, and who have the

* Table in Mr. Rose's Pamphlet on Poor Laws.

deficiency of their earnings supplied out of the rates; and the notoriety of this fact is a sufficient answer to those who entertain doubts whether the poor laws actually increase population or not. No man who has watched their practical operation can possibly entertain a doubt upon the subject. We will estimate these families at two-thirds of the outpoor, or about 600,000, and the assistance granted to each at 3*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.* * each, and the result will be, that all the advantages of a general rise in wages will be obtained at one tenth of the expence,—viz. by relief granted to 600,000, instead of wages to six millions of persons, and that the actual saving to the nation, on the two modes of raising the necessary increase of people, amounts to upwards of seventeen millions of pounds sterling annually, or 5,400,000 times 3*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.*; which may fairly be considered as a premium afforded to the encouragement of industry, by the economy of the poor laws, for we need not again repeat the alternative, that without the relief afforded by the poor laws, either the necessary increase of population could not take place in the country districts, or the wages of labour must be generally raised.

We think that this is on the face of it no bad bargain for the state, which would have little cause to complain, if, wanting an additional supply of hands beyond the natural power of its population, it had paid an outgoing of 600,000*l.* instead of six millions, out of its clear profits. But a close investigation of the preceding arrangement will, perhaps, shew that the supply is obtained without any actual expence at all; at least, at an expence merely nominal. For the redundant supply of hands thus provided will depress the wages of labour considerably below what they would naturally be without such redundancy. In a country with an increasing demand for labour, they may not, perhaps, be *actually lowered*, because without this extraordinary supply of hands, they would very much have risen; but they will certainly sink below what they would otherwise have stood at. This diminution will equally affect the bachelor, the childless, and the married man with a family. But the laws step in, and leaving the two former where they are, more than make up the difference to the latter; and by “a donation in money,” make the whole remuneration of his labour equal not only to what it would have been had the rate of wages been left to its natural course, (which is now here high enough to support a large family), but equal to his just wants, whatever the size of his family may be. Thus even in the most advanced stages of the commercial and manufacturing states of society, by a sort of magic, all the

youthful vigour and prolific power of the agricultural state is transferred to a part only of the community; and as we have seen to how small a part the donation is necessary, the state is actually a *considerable gainer* by the transaction; that is, it will save more upon the depressed wages of the bachelor, and parent of few children, than it will spend in supporting the excess of children in large families. And this *ad infinitum*; for so long as the population continues redundant, just so long will it continue, by its own reaction, to promote the causes which render it redundant without expence to the public.

But it may, perhaps, be said, that this process is liable to the objection of reducing the wages of labour too low for the wants of the mass of labourers, and of leading to a greater supply of redundant population than the increasing wants of the state can absorb. We think that this can never be the case in a country in the advanced states of society; for the very redundancy, by lowering wages, will force a further extension of industry, and consequently an increased demand for labour in those departments where the people do not keep up their own numbers, and where they will necessarily be obliged to increase their draft of recruits from those where the numbers are redundant. We find, in fact, that in England, a free country, where this system has been in operation for two centuries, the average rate of the *real* wages of labour has not sunk lower than is enough to support a labourer, his wife, and two children; a rate which may be conceived equally advantageous to the employer and the employed, where the difference can be made up in the case of large families. It enables the bachelor, or man with a small family, to lay by a portion for old age by industry and frugality, and does not, by a superfluity of money, tempt them to idleness, extravagance, and excess. It gives to him who does not choose to incur the risk of depending upon the public for any part of his family's support, the means of saving in youth enough to support a family resulting from a late marriage; while the assistance held out to those who prefer to such abstinence the comforts of matrimony, with *the chance* of a dependance on the laws for the support of a large family, enables the lower as well as the higher ranks to enjoy without public injury (nay with great public advantage) the free option of marriage, as stated in the last article of our last volume.

But there are other objections to the economy of this system. It has been ingeniously remarked by some lively and intuitive critics, that this system is nothing more than a *scheme* for bribing men to work cheap, a mere robbing of Peter to pay Paul; thereby insinuating with their accustomed fairness, that the donation was imparted to all those who would

otherwise have earned it, and of course that the pretence to any saving was a mere illusion. Whereas the truth appears to be, that it is only imparted to one-tenth of those, to the other nine parts of whom it must otherwise have been given to their great detriment in the shape of wages; and that the real saving is of course equal to nine parts in ten of the sum that would for that purpose have been necessary. This is also a sufficient answer to those philosophers who object that any addition to the pay of the labourer, whether in the shape of wages or donation, only raises the general price of provisions, by an increased competition, without entitling the labourer to a larger portion of them. This would be certainly so, were the remuneration of labour *universally raised*, and constitutes a sound argument against the expediency of any such proposition. But it is *clearly* otherwise, where the largess is confined to the tenth part only of the labouring people; that tenth part does then clearly acquire a larger portion of Provisions at the expence of the remainder; but at an expence which their very superior numbers and inferior wants can well enable them to bear.

Another objection is, that the prospect of parish relief in old age or sickness encourages idleness and vice in the vigour of life. This evidently applies only to the bachelor and parent of a small family; for the man with a large family can neither be idle, nor can he lay up any savings by the utmost efforts of industry and frugality. The objection, therefore, amounts to this, that a man without incumbrance, and in full possession of the comforts of life, will be *tempted* to the indulgence of present gratification, by the delightful prospect of passing his latter days in a workhouse. Now we can well believe that the possession of superfluous money will tempt an uneducated peasant into idle, dissolute, and thoughtless habits. But that he does this with any deliberate or prospective view of the consequences that will result to him in his old age, or in sickness, is contrary to all experience and analogy. Present temptation, the absence of moral restraint, and the want of consideration, are the predisposing causes to vicious indulgence; but let a man once be brought to *deliberate*, to take a prospective view of the consequences of such a career, and he will perceive that he is entering an avenue of horrors, which the agreeable perspective of the parish workhouse at the termination of the vista will scarcely tempt him to encounter. The poor laws, moreover, do not make a provision in supply of deficiencies occasioned by wilful idleness, but of those only which result from incapacity; and the contrary impression is an error into which the author of the pamphlet before us has fallen in common with many others who have no practical knowledge of the subject.

We think that we are now fairly entitled to assume that the necessary increase of people is raised by the poor laws in the cheapest and most effectual manner; and being so raised, it will probably be thought superfluous to waste any words in proving that the result is favourable to commerce and manufactures. But the third limb of our triple proposition yet remains to be made good, in order completely to establish the policy of the poor laws; for it is evident that unless they have also a tendency to increase the means of subsistence in proportion to the population which they call into being, they do in fact justly incur the imputation of audaciously pretending to support them only to plunge them into greater misery. In truth, there cannot be a clearer axiom in political economy than that an increase of consumers, the objects of consumption remaining the same, and only sufficient for the number of consumers previously in existence; is nothing less than the introduction of so much disease, misery, and premature death; and that relieving one portion of those consumers by donations in money is only depriving the rest of their rightful share of the necessaries of life. We apprehend that it was an assumption, that this proposition was agreeable to the fact of the case, which induced Mr. Malthus (after objecting to the poor laws, on account of their tendency to increase population), to finish by stating his belief that they do not in fact increase population at all, but only distress and misery.

But how stands the fact? Our readers have probably borne in mind that in the manufacturing state of society prevalent in England fresh capital can only be laid out in agriculture, in proportion to the demand which a previously existing population makes upon its produce. They will also admit that an abundance of means even for some centuries exists in England, for the further production of food in proportion as it is called for. But to render the call efficient it must be made not only by one that wants to be fed, but who can offer a remuneration for the food produced. The objects called into existence, and reared by the poor laws, are in a condition to make this offer. The addition made to their earnings gives them a valid claim to a larger portion of the *existing* food than they would otherwise have, and, by increasing the number of competitors, has a tendency to raise its price. This of course gives an impulse to the capitalist to lay out more money upon land, that he may supply the additional demand for food; and were this the whole process, we think that the third limb of our proposition would stand firm. But this is by no means the only influence exercised by the poor laws on the further production of food. Their partial operation in confining the high remuneration of labour

to those only who have large families, affords facilities to the extension of agriculture, to the full as great as those given to manufacturing industry. For while the increased demand for food from the augmented population impels the capitalist on the one hand, the comparatively low rate of labour very much assists his operations on the other, and he combines at once the advantages of the agricultural and manufacturing states of society.

The proofs in detail might be extended to any given length, by a reference to the various principles of political economy which relate to production and consumption; but we trust that more than enough has now been stated to convince any impartial mind, that the poor laws do in fact produce a healthy and vigorous increase of population, at the same time that they afford a corresponding encouragement to cultivation, without diminishing that which is so essentially due to commerce and manufactures; that they have more than realized the desideratum which Sir James Stuart probably had in his mind when he stated, that if it be necessary to keep down the wages of labour in order to depress the price of commodities, and at the same time to encourage cultivation by the demand of an increasing population for subsistence, *the state must pay for the support of the children*, to the extent in which the fathers of large families are unable to provide for them.

Thus far as to the policy of the poor laws, which, we trust, stands upon grounds as firm and tenable as we shall presently hope to shew is the case with respect to their humanity: for we do not pretend to assert that those who enacted the poor laws had any very clear views of their real political effects. We believe humanity was the ruling inducement to their establishment, as well as the chief ground upon which they have been continued in operation *for two centuries*, by a nation which even its enemies admit to join great sobriety of judgment with its feelings of charity. But if that view be a false one, if the philosophers who have risen up in our days are founded in the supposition, that our ancestors were in this instance much mistaken in their well-intended views for the benefit of the poor, perish all respect to policy, profit, and the rapid accumulation of wealth and produce! For it is almost too obvious to be repeated, that these can never be built upon a solid foundation unless where they rest upon the moral welfare of the people.

We think, in the first place, that we have a right to assume that the argument of the preceding pages has completely cut up by the roots all the modern objections to the humanity of the poor laws drawn from the principle of population. Their foundation evidently rests on the notion, that the money given in the

form of *poors rates* calls into existence a number of additional mouths, for which no corresponding supply of food is raised. But we have shewn the converse of this proposition to be true, therefore the whole theoretical superstructure of vice and misery built upon it falls to the ground of course. And when the objectors turn short round and assert, that notwithstanding their former objections in point of theory, they do not think that in point of fact the *poors rates* do encourage population, but only idleness and vice by the prospect of future relief, although the earnings of youth and manhood may have been dissipated in debauchery; we think that we have met them on that point also, by shewing that the portion of the people to whom the argument applies, namely the young and unmarried, or the married with small families, will assuredly regulate their moral conduct more according to the example of their superiors, and the religious and moral instruction which may have been imparted to them, than by any distant view of the temporal consequences of self-indulgence. And we have further shewn that all the arguments built on the supposition that the *poor laws* make up to an idle labourer the deficiencies arising from neglect are erroneous; they only come in aid of his total or partial incapacity to support himself and his family.

But in the second place, we confess that we are by no means satisfied with merely proving that the *poor laws* are not *inhuman* in their operation. We think ourselves in a condition to prove that they constitute one of the grandest monuments of extensive charity and enlightened humanity that ever adorned any age or nation. The system has actually realized that *fabulous* theory of social happiness which political economists have agreed in ridiculing from the time of Henry IV. of France downwards—that every man in *real* distress is *entitled*, as a matter of *right*, to a sufficient relief from the public. We beg it may be observed that this is predicated of the *laws*, not of the *abuses* or inconveniences which the lapse of time, the alterations in society, and a long course of neglect or mismanagement, may have introduced into their execution. That these, however, are not very general or injurious, and have been much counteracted by the conservative regulation which places the *æconomy* of the fund in the hands of those very persons from whose pockets it is taken, (with a power of appeal to both parties against abuse), we think will plainly appear upon reference to the actual extent of the humane results now arising from their operation.

These extend to the whole amount of the rates not actually expended in rearing large families; to all the relief given in large manufacturing and commercial towns to persons thrown out of

employment by the necessary fluctuations of trade; to the support of the sick, of widows, of orphans, of the aged and infirm,—of all those, in short, who cannot provide for themselves, and whose dependance upon individual charity would be insufficient to preserve their existence.

Of those who are wholly supported in workhouses the number in 1803 was 83,462. These are almost exclusively sick, aged, infirm, and orphans. And supposing our former calculation of 600,000 persons, constituting that part of the healthy families of labourers which is supported by the public, to be correct, there will remain 356,000 persons which come under the description of casual poor, assisted out of workhouses at periods of sickness or temporary difficulty, who are thereby preserved at a trifling expence to their families and to the State, which must otherwise have expended all the money that would have been necessary to rear another effective labourer to the age at which each would have been carried off.

We will not now expatiate upon that interesting scene of humanity which the details of this enormous mass of charity in all its extensive ramifications presents to our view. We had rather leave them to the experience or imagination of our readers: briefly remarking, that however the cold philosopher in his closet may attempt to argue them into illusions, those who have been actually conversant with the operation of the laws concerning the poor, that is, the clergy, the magistrates, and the country gentlemen of England, are as well aware of the reality of the benefits conferred by them, as our statesmen, our generals, and our enemies are of the efficient human beings whom these laws assist in bringing to perfection.

We have already intimated our assent to the fact, that the poor-laws are capable of many amendments, both in enactment and in the mode of their execution. The length to which these observations have already extended, precludes us from entering into these improvements on the present occasion. But there is one which so strongly results from the preceding view of their policy, that we do not perceive how any man who accedes to the justice of that policy can hesitate a moment in wishing to apply the amendment.

By the law, as it at present stands, no man can *claim* relief so long as he is possessed of any property whatever, nor unless such part of his family as applies for relief will consent to go into the workhouse, if so required by the overseers. The operation of this law upon the industrious father of a large family, who only requires from the rates that which is necessary to make up the deficiency in his own earnings, is evidently cruel and impoli-

tic. It is impolitic, because the trifling property which he may possess is often the source of more profit to him than its intrinsic value would afford to the parish upon its sale, and therefore to that extent exonerates the rates of a burthen they must otherwise bear. It is cruel, because it imposes an unnecessary hardship upon an industrious man, interferes with his domestic comforts, and places the happiness of his nearest and dearest connections at the mercy of his immediate superior in society: and this, while the pauper himself, so far from having committed a crime, has conducted himself in a manner which (if there be any truth in the arguments of this and our preceding number on these subjects) is morally and politically advantageous to his country. The general conviction of the hardship of the law in this case has produced a frequent relaxation of it in practice; but still the magistrate has no positive control, if an overseer, from motives which often operate in parochial squabbles, should insist upon a strict compliance with its letter. This, we have no hesitation to say, should be remedied.

Impressed with the soundness of the arguments by which we have presumed to support the policy of the poor laws, we must strenuously assert that the poor and industrious father of a large family has a RIGHT to that support from the state which his own exertions cannot procure. And he has of course a right to receive it in such a manner as shall not bring shame upon him, or interfere in any way with his comfort and happiness. If in the act which makes the relief necessary he confers a benefit on the community, that community cannot either in justice or policy make it the source of distress or misery to the agent. Admitting the premises we have laid down, this consequence is unavoidable.

We would therefore submit it with all due humility to Mr. Whitbread (whose well-intended efforts on behalf of the poor have twice been unsuccessful, because, as we think, they have twice been founded upon mistaken principles of policy and œconomy) that he would do well to bring in a bill, authorising overseers and magistrates to afford the regulated allowance to poor fathers of large families, notwithstanding they may possess property to a small *specified* amount (20*l.* or 30*l.* for instance, taking however into consideration the income arising from such property,) and without insisting that the part of the family actually chargeable shall be sent to the workhouse. We will venture almost to promise success to Mr. Whitbread in this undertaking, and we think it is founded on a principle that must be agreeable to his disposition. For however it may be our misfortune to differ from him on the policy or expediency of almost every point of discussion which he brings before the public, we respect the independence and honesty of his mind.

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